

SEPTEMBER 1938

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

CURRENT HISTORY



COLONEL BECK OF POLAND MAKES A TOUR (Page 21)

STANLEY HIGH ■ CARLETON BEALS ■ W. H. CHAMBERLIN
I. F. STONE ■ FRANK C. HANIGHEN ■ PORTER SARGENT



How Long Would It Take You To Build a Lamp Bulb?

TO MAKE it by hand—to dig the sand and make the glass; to blow and etch the bulb. To mine the tungsten, hammer it into a ductile wire, draw it finer than a human hair, coil it into a filament. To produce the sheet brass and shape it for the base.

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1938—OUR SIXTIETH YEAR OF ELECTRICAL PROGRESS—1938

THE ISSUE

● Joseph Beck, subject of this month's cover, is a dapper gentleman who has been called Europe's best-dressed diplomat. Colonel Beck is Foreign Minister of Poland and is frequently seen in Europe's various capitals. Purpose of his many visits is to place in Poland's hands Europe's balance of power. It is a lot of work and there is some evidence to indicate that he has not been altogether unsuccessful. **Frank C. Hanighen**, now in Europe where he expects to stay out on that line until Christmas, evaluates Beck's policies in *Poland Rides the Tiger*.

● Japan seems to be refining her censorship technique over publications coming into the country. More than a year ago she confiscated all copies of an issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* containing an article which presented her in none too favorable a light. Current History took up the matter with the State Department at the time and since then no issues have been banned. Nor has it been because the articles have changed their tone. Japan has apparently changed her policy from confiscation to deletion. **William Henry Chamberlin**, ace of the Far Eastern correspondents, writes from Tokyo that he invariably finds his *CURRENT HISTORY* contributions minus a page or two or even missing altogether. Hereafter, the magazine will be mailed to him first class, putting to a test whether Japan will molest the private mail of Americans residing in that country. The new system goes into effect with this issue, which contains Mr. Chamberlin's article, *Balance Sheet in China*.

● One would think that Japan has all she can do to handle China without getting involved elsewhere. But far from raking in her chips, she seems to feel that as long as she is going to gamble, it might as well be for high stakes. She has traded shots with Russia on the Manchukuo border (see *History in the Making*). Meanwhile, she is active thousands of miles away in South America, where she has apparently established something of an economic foothold. **Carleton Beals**, America's leading authority on Latin-American affairs, reports on this disturbing development in *Japan Tiptoes Around the Monroe Doctrine*.

● While on the subject of Fascism in South America, we suggest that you read **Genaro Arbaiza's** regular department, *Latin-American Notes*. Mr. Arbaiza, who last year was the first to report the widespread growth of Fascism among our southern neighbors, now sees Fascism as a declining force. He hopes to be able to hang out the *R. I. P.* sign within a few months.

● Early last spring, a youthful-looking man walked into *CURRENT HISTORY's* office and asked us if we knew what was happening in Ethiopia. We knew very little. He thought he could get the facts. Would we commission an article? No, we would give nothing but our best wishes; frankly, the possibility of obtaining a first-hand factual article seemed very slight. Four months later, **Leo Isaacs** returned with the article. He had considered our pessimism as a challenge and set out to prove it could be done. It had meant more work, more correspondence, more checking than he had ever dreamed, but he proudly produced *Italy's Two Years in Ethiopia*. It ran something close to 20,000 words, or about seven times as long as our usual articles. Revised to magazine length, the article appears in this issue.

● In a day when most nations are attempting to expand by seizure and invasion, Holland's accomplishments in wresting land from the sea take on additional and welcome

CURRENT HISTORY

SEPTEMBER, 1938

Editor and Publisher, M. E. TRACY

General Manager, JOHN C. CASMAN

Associate Editor, N. B. COUSINS; Advertising Manager, JOHN A. CURTIS

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significance. But the Hollanders have had to do more in recent years than push back the sea; they have had to overcome the threat of Fascism. **Professor Francis O. Wilcox**, of the University of Louisville, writes of their experiences in *Democracy the Dutch Way*.

● Long regarded as one of the most competent observers and interpreters of the national scene, **Stanley High**, a former cleric and at present a frequent magazine contributor, writes on crime in St. Paul. Strange things have happened in this Twin City. Long the favorite hide-out of public enemies with a low numerical rating, St. Paul has flushed the criminals out of its underworld. It was aided, of course, by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, often referred to in the movies and glamor stories as G-Men.

● Appearances to the contrary, the British are very sensitive to American criticism. Under the circumstances they'll need an extra bracer to carry on in the face of **Porter Sargent's** examination of their schooling. And he is a man who speaks with more than the usual authority. For many years he has been associated with private schooling. He is the editor and publisher of *Sargent's Handbooks*.

● There are many who contend that "it can't happen here." Others will tell you that it can; indeed, that it has. They will point, for example, to Harlan County, Kentucky, where the Government recently staged one of its mass trials in the first big test of the Wagner Labor Relations Act. **I. F. Stone**, chief editorial writer for one of the large Metropolitan dailies, contributes an article on the subject.

The World Today in Books

IT MAY be that Americans make a mistake in their disposition to classify European nations as either saints or sinners. The correct attitude, it appears from Randolph Leigh's *Conscript Europe*, is to regard them all as a pack of opportunistic and mercenary incorrigibles—sinners all, unworthy of our sympathy and even less our support. To say that some are good and some are bad, right or wrong, friendly or unfriendly, is to blind our eyes, he says, to their true colors.

Today, Italy and Germany are wearing most visible villain's thorns, and Mr. Leigh recognizes their extraordinary qualifications as bearers of the bramble, although they are "green and crude at the game." Neither is he very sanguine about England and France. "They are all tarred with the same stick, all belong to the same magnificent tribe—the tribe of the predatory Europeans." Even Belgium the Pure, the Inviolable, has been up there grasping with the rest and the best of them, capitalizing upon her traditional sanctity to continue the profitable exploitation of her colonial properties.

Traveling in this direction, it is no trouble at all for the reader to arrive at the conclusion from Mr. Leigh's book that Europe is two things: it is a madhouse, and it is bankrupt.

It is a madhouse because in it are twenty-nine jealous, suspicious, dishonest, clawing, vindictive, self-seeking nations, more than a few of them led—to give the whole grotesque business an appearance of further reality—by madmen who are called dictators and who think they can nourish their countries on diets of sulphur and gunpowder.

It is bankrupt because it has piled up huge debts which it ostensibly cannot pay. England owes \$1032 for each man, woman, and child in the United Kingdom; France, \$720 per capita; Germany declared her bankruptcy long ago. (The United States

owes \$411 per person.) Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland—and all the rest—have advertised their plight to the world in restrictive financial measures. Taxpayers on the Continent must maintain twenty-nine "frontier-obstructing and trade-crippling systems, costly diplomatic services, struggling against one another and carrying the struggle for allies into the most remote corners of the earth."

There is little mystery concerning the cause of Europe's seamy and debilitated financial condition. For thirty years, as Mr. Leigh points out, the Continent has suffered adverse trade balances. In addition, its colonial experiences have seldom turned out as anticipated. Overseas investments, likewise, have not produced the expected yield and have frequently been wiped out altogether in foreign seizures or revolutions. Finally, and perhaps most important, Europe has drained itself dry in its armament race and has even found it necessary to divert much of its normal foreign investments into the priming of its munitions pumps.

The Continent continues its expansionist and colonial folly, despite its many bitter experiences. But here it faces a paradox of its own making, for the exploitable areas of the world have greatly shrunk while the need for raw materials has grown. Mr. Leigh views European colonial policies as a sad lesson, and in this he gives additional weight to Grover

Clark's studies of two years ago, *A Place in the Sun* and *The Balance Sheet of Imperialism*, both of which contained abundant evidence showing that colonies do not pay.

Conscript Europe discusses the major nations of the Continent collectively and individually, with one significant exception—Russia. Mr. Leigh has recognized more than a few unpleasant traits in his examination of the Powers, particularly England and France. Great Britain is a country whose citizens proclaim democracy though most of them genuinely despise it; France is the great "Gimreland," milking American charities and citizens as far as it can go without actually stealing; Italy is the home of those "Fascist triplets—Death, Taxes, and Work;" Germany is producing illegitimate children at the European record rate of one out of every eight, in an effort to speed up fodder for the war machines. All this according to Mr. Leigh, who has seen conditions on the Continent at first hand.

When war comes—and Mr. Leigh does not even give himself the inexpensive protection of an "if"—it will see an attempt by Germany to carve out enough land in Europe to support 250,000,000 Germans. England may not intervene against Germany and it is conceivable that France may be prevented from doing so, the author believes, because of her unfavorable geographical position. This leaves Russia as the only major power to

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHORS	PUBLISHER	PRICE
<i>Conscript Europe</i>	Randolph Leigh	Putnam	\$3.00
<i>Roosevelt: A Study in Fortune and Power</i>	Emil Ludwig	Viking	3.00
<i>My Austria</i>	Kurt Schuschnigg	Knopf	3.00
<i>My America</i>	Louis Adamic	Harpers	3.75
<i>I Like America</i>	Granville Hicks	Modern Age Books	.50
<i>Iraq: A Study in Political Development</i>	Philip Willard Ireland	Macmillan	3.75
<i>Republican Hispanic America</i>	John S. Chapman	Macmillan	3.75

fight Germany, and a victory for Germany, according to *Conscript Europe*, would mean acquisition of the Ukraine—one million square miles, or enough to settle all the German minorities. A German victory might, too, see the number of major European nations and their dependencies increased to approximately ten. And out of it might come a revival of the League of Nations: "Fewer and fatter nations might federate enough to find a way to increase European trade, genuinely reduce armaments and lower taxes."

Suppose Germany should lose? The reader will be disappointed to find that Mr. Leigh fails to discuss such an eventuality. This failure is perhaps a clue to the comparatively moderate criticism of Germany and Italy in his book. For although *Conscript Europe* has enough unfavorable words to go around for all the European nations—against each of which the author has declared himself at the beginning of his book—a general summing up seems to indicate that Italy and Germany do not come off as badly as England and France in the matter of derogations.

Ludwig's New Biography

Emil Ludwig's *Roosevelt: A Study in Fortune and Power* has been so thoroughly exploited through newspaper and magazine serialization that its publication now in book form comes largely as an anti-climax. It is completely devoid of surprises by now and is more adapted to revaluation than to fresh appraisal.

This might have been a biography to rate with Ludwig's best, his *Bismarck*, his *Napoleon*, his *Goethe*. It might have been, but it is not. It is not, because it lacks the calm, unhurried, comprehensive treatment of his previous books. The work seems almost premature, as though he had rushed it through in the fear that some other biographer might beat him to it. The time element has hardly helped the book; the construction is not too smooth and the tenses jump from present to past and back to the present again with apparent disregard for the reader's convenience. There are a number of minor though inexcusable factual errors, that a competent proofreader might have caught, such as the reference to Theodore

Roosevelt as Franklin's uncle, or the statement that Congressional elections were held in 1933.

And yet—

Hurried though it is, it is an important work. When Ludwig concentrates on Roosevelt as a personality and not upon Washington sidelights or his impressions of the New Deal, he can produce some remarkably clear and candid views of the President. Particularly worth while is his account of an average day in the life of a First Executive. There is a good description of the famous Roosevelt charm: "He handles people, without prejudgments or pretentiousness, cleverly, cordially, cannily, but also with rapid decision and a lightly humorous tone to which is added a certain charm which people later resent in recollection. . . . His simple speech, aiming only at clarity, fills everyone with confidence, and since he never tries to impress anyone, he is the more able to help."

Roosevelt, says Ludwig, is a man of power who has not lost the joy of life. This joy is rooted in the "consciousness of health." Moreover, he knows how to laugh, freely and without shame. Power has not spoiled

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him. He still asks advice of secretaries, is anxious to take, and give, a joke. He has no dictatorial attributes or ambitions; "the dictator lives in his party, Roosevelt lives in the struggle of parties. The dictator is ceremonious and dramatic, Roosevelt is courteous and ironic. The dictator starts out with hatred and persecution; Roosevelt's desire is to protect the persecuted."

Roosevelt is divided into three sections: "Fortune," which examines the early social and political development of a genial son of the rich; "Metamorphosis," which covers the period of his advancement in political life up to his election as President; and "Power," or Roosevelt yesterday and today. There is a fairly generous sampling throughout of Ludwig's personal opinions, not many of which are completely pertinent. It is a good book as it stands but one which could have been made vastly better with the advantage of a little more time and perspective.

Double Obituary

What has happened to Kurt Schuschnigg? On March 11, faced with a Nazi ultimatum to resign as Chancellor, he went before the people, told them he was leaving to avoid bloodshed, and gave Austria his blessing. Up to the beginning of last month, according to reports, he was a prisoner in the Belvedere Palace. He was removed but it is not known where. Meanwhile on June 4 he had been married by proxy to Countess Vera Rugger von Babenhausen, his brother representing him at the ceremony. Schuschnigg, as far as is known, has not been allowed to see his wife since the "wedding."

It is difficult to read Kurt Schuschnigg's *My Austria* without escaping the dramatic yet eerie sensation that a large part of what the former Austrian Chancellor says here will be used to convict him of "treason." Treason because he defied, not Austria, but the acquisitive frenzy of the Nazi leaders. He sought to preserve his country's independence, as Dorothy Thompson points out in her extensive and illuminating introduction, but was imprisoned as a traitor and held up to the public as an object of ridicule and contempt.

My Austria tells the story of the country from the end of the war to the middle of 1937. It was published in late fall of last year, in Vienna, when Kurt Schuschnigg was full of hope

and ambition for his Austria. "In word and meaning," he wrote on October 1, "the treaty of July 11 (with Germany) is entirely sufficient to assure a peaceful and friendly association." He cited figures to show that Austrian economics could "survive and expand." Everything seemed to justify, he believed at the time, the distinct hope of tranquillity and security, and controvert, more strongly than any argument, all maliciously or recklessly displayed defeatism." The domestic debt had been reduced by twenty-five per cent; unemployment had dropped by a similar percentage; Austrian exports had increased in quantity and value since 1933.

As late as January 5, he told an English correspondent that an "absolute abyss" separated Austria from Nazism: "We do not like arbitrary power, we want law to rule our freedom. We reject uniformity and centralization. . . . As a people we are tolerant by predisposition. Any change now, in our status quo, would only be for the worse." When the plebiscite drew near, which Kurt Schuschnigg was certain would con-

firm the desire of Austrians to maintain their complete independence, Nazi leaders grew frantic and demanded that the vote be called off altogether.

This was the end. Kurt Schuschnigg capitulated rather than become the second party to a war which would mean certain disaster for Austria and possibly another world conflict. The eventful days immediately preceding this bloodless coup are summarized by Miss Thompson in her introduction, which is in reality the concluding chapter of the book, since the author's own story closes at the eve of the preceding year.

My Austria is an historical obituary and it is to be hoped that it is also not a personal one. For though it is a biography of Austria, it is as much the story of Kurt Schuschnigg. The writing and analyses are clear; events are treated in orderly and objective fashion. The book is an outstanding contribution to historical literature.

Is a Good Book Too Long

Louis Adamic has had to take a great deal of kidding about his latest
(Continued on page 62)

A TRULY AMAZING BOOK

Unmasks the Mystery Behind the Mess

in CONSCRIPT EUROPE

By Randolph Leigh

"WHAT next in Europe?" That question is on the lips of everyone. This book enables YOU to answer that question and it does it in the most novel way you can imagine. Heretofore, books on Europe have been concerned with personalities, on the fallacious assumption that Men shape Events. In CONSCRIPT EUROPE an internationally recognized foreign observer proceeds on the true basis that Events shape the Men.

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nationalities and made them the willing serfs of their new masters.

These are things which never get into the newspapers because, according to current newspaper standards, they do not classify as "news". Their existence, however, will not down, and they are the direct cause of every development in Europe. In the past two decades they have not changed, but have grown even more acute. Brought into focus by Mr. Leigh, they graphically portray Europe's inescapable destiny.

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Cooperation

BARRING extreme or exceptional cases, people throughout the civilized world are very much alike in their individual outlook on life. They want to live in peace with each other, to marry and establish happy homes, to make conditions better for their children, to realize their dreams and their ambitions, to feel secure in their work and property, to have the privilege of providing for old age, etc. They find it easy to dwell side by side on cordial terms with one another, regardless of race, color or creed, as has been demonstrated in innumerable communities throughout our country.

We have proved the workability of the melting-pot. There is hardly an American who cannot point to some friend or associate of different ancestry or religion from his own. There is hardly a neighborhood without a more or less complicated admixture of races and creeds. Jew, Gentile, Protestant, Catholic, Swede, German, Italian, Irish, Russian, etc. — each and every one of them has found it possible to become good neighbors, good citizens and good members of society in these United States; to cooperate in developing the country; to get together for improving general conditions.

Why should not this be possible for the world in general? Why should there be so much hate and distrust? Why should the people on one side of an imaginary line fear and suspect those on the other? It must be due to training and traditions, to the artificial development of unnatural feelings by group pressure.

If left to work out the problem as individuals, these people would get along all right. It is only when organized, lined up in blocs and groups, exposed to disciplined control and manufactured doctrines that they contract these complexes. There is something vicious about this collectivized thinking, as we call it, something that destroys the natural desire to do right, to be kind and tolerant. Men do things as units of an army that they would never think of doing as individuals. As citizens, they would look upon murder or maiming with disgust. As soldiers, they accept it as part of the job.

The same thing is true with respect to a mob. People seem to forget themselves, and particularly their sense of personal responsibility, when dominated by the mob spirit. As individuals, they would never think of destroying property or injuring their

fellow beings. As members of a mob, they halt at nothing.

As individuals we find it necessary to associate with all kinds of people and we get to know their better side. We get to understand their problems and to be charitable toward their shortcomings. As members of a group, we herd only with those who think as we do and gradually develop the idea that all other people must be strange, if not wicked. The more self-contained, self-satisfied, arrogant and suspicious the group grows, the more these emotions enter the souls of its members. This is true of cliques within nations as well as of nations themselves. The more they insulate themselves and the more they draw apart, the greater likelihood there is of conflict.

Instead of organizing groups on the basis of self-interest, we should organize them for the purpose of bringing about a better understanding with each other. All our efforts should be bent — not toward making differences an excuse for separation, but toward eliminating them by more intimate and constant exchange of ideas.

As Woodrow Wilson said, "Men who know each other cannot disagree." In general, the primary object of education and, for that matter, of every activity which has to do with human relations should be to develop a better acquaintance with each other, especially where vital differences exist.

We cannot hope to establish practical cooperation, much less peace, by emphasizing differences, by encouraging people to organize and act in an organized way because of their differences. To be the genuine thing, cooperation must have as its aim the minimizing of differences, the removal of intellectual, economic and physical barriers. It must visualize the common good, the common interest, the common desire, the common aspiration. Cooperation represents interest alone. Such an attitude makes it a narrow, intolerant, trouble-provoking factor, especially when that attitude is converted into a belief that self-interest can be served only by bullying, brow-beating, intimidating or coercing some other group, class or nation.

Mc Tracy

THE MONTH IN CARTOONS



—Manning in the Arizona Republic



—Marcus in The New York Times

Above: "And Pa's Away Hunting Dragons!"

Left: "The Pick-a-Back Idea in Europe."

Below: "What Next?"



—Challen in the London Daily Herald

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

FUTURE historians will write of the epoch through which we are passing as characterized by the most amazing convulsions in human thought. They will write of it as atavistic and reactionary in spite of the lip tribute being paid to pacifism, internationalism and liberalism. They will write of it as marked by moral as well as economic collapse. They will write of it as dominated by the resurgence of prejudices that were supposed to have been outmoded; by racial and religious persecutions; by the substitution of dictatorial for democratic forms of government; by class consciousness and group pressure; by intolerance and bigotry. They will write of it as evolving to the tune of violated treaties, repudiated debts and undeclared wars. They will write of it as peculiarly astounding because it grew out of a conflict in which ten million men died believing that their sacrifice would end just such things. They will write of it as doubly confusing because of the high hopes and fine ideals which it so suddenly and ruthlessly swept aside.

We of the present generation stand too close to what is going on for anything like an intelligent perspective. We can see but little save its bizarre and dramatic aspects. Not until humanity has moved away from it by many years can its true shape or significance be defined. About all we can realize right now is that, instead of a world governed by anything approximating international law, we live in a world threatened with international anarchy.

Practically speaking, we are stupefied with the disaster succeeding a victory that was supposed to mark the dawn of a new and better era. No doubt we hoped for too much, but that does not mitigate the discouraging effect of what has occurred. We behold the ruins of the League of Nations with bewilderment; we watch nations arming to the teeth without being able

to understand why; we see hatred, provincialism, race prejudice and class consciousness developing on every hand without being able to fathom the cause or consequence.

ONLY in a few democracies does life seem much like what it used to be, and even some democracies show a distinct tendency to go in for dictatorship and militarism. An atmosphere of tenseness and alarm pervades the world in general. There is a feeling that strife may break out anywhere at



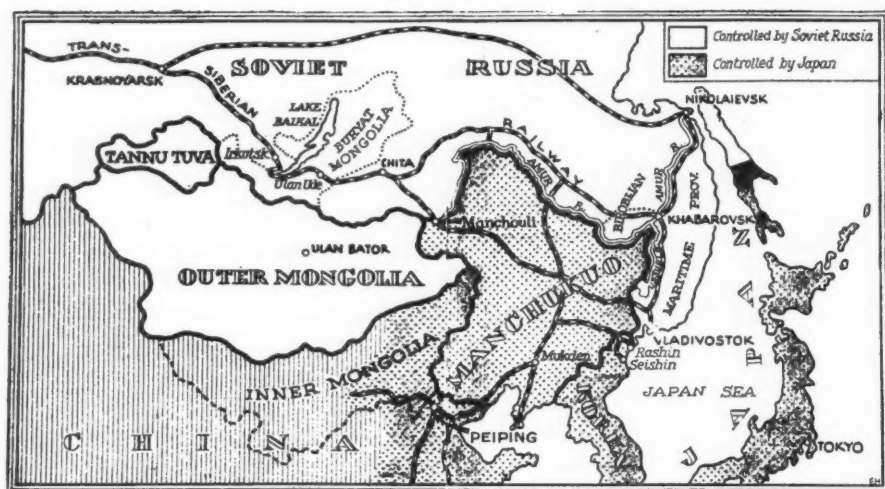
—Phoenix Republic and Gazette
It makes a difference whose ox is gored.

any moment, and that it may engulf all humanity. "Best minds" discuss the possibility of Western civilization collapsing as though it were of no great consequence and as though men could and should do little to prevent it. The nonchalance with which approaching disaster is contemplated and fantastic experiments are being undertaken; the complacent disregard of human experience and the vital principles it has disclosed; the lack of firmness in preserving what has been demonstrated as reliable and worthwhile, represent what is perhaps the worst aspect of present-day psychology.

Broadly speaking, people seem to have reached a point where they lack the spirit to resent—much less resist—persecution and suppression of the worst sort; where they can see their fellow men manhandled and mistreated without concern so long as they themselves are safe; where they hesitate to provide a haven for political refugees lest it interfere with their own economic well being.

The bars are up on every hand to restrict trade and confine prosperity for those lucky enough to dwell behind safe barricades, and the delusion that we cannot only better ourselves but the world in general by walling ourselves off, has grown into a well nigh world-embracing belief. During the last two decades, we have seen millions of people deprived of their right to worship and more millions deprived of their right to earn a living because of the race to which they belong. We have seen the right of free speech and free conscience suppressed throughout two-thirds of Europe. We have seen blood purges and persecutions that smack of the fourteenth century. We have seen armaments increased at an amazing rate though they had to be bought and paid for with the blood and sweat of hungry multitudes. All of it is so different from what was expected twenty years ago, so foreign to the visions and ideals that were then thought to guide the destiny of men, that we find ourselves virtually paralyzed with astonishment. It is against such a background that we must consider and interpret history in the making, with its jungle-like raids, its blasé repudiation of debts, its impulsive, emotional adventuring.

THERE are two principal centers of conflict in the world today—one in Spain and the other in the Far East. They are not only hooked together because of the nations that have deliberately become involved, but they may cause a third center to blaze into



Russian and Japanese Territory in the Far East

—New York Times

action at any moment. Italy, Germany and Russia have assisted one side or the other in the Spanish revolution, and Russia is now orienting her policy in such a way as threatens open aid to China, if not open war with Japan.

Meanwhile, Italy, Germany and Japan have formed what amounts to an anti-Russian alliance, which means that Italy and Germany may take action if war breaks out between Russia and Japan. This situation involves Czechoslovakia because of her alliance with Russia and goes far toward explaining Germany's present attitude toward Czechoslovakia's internal affairs. If Czechoslovakia's air bases could be used by Russia, because of the alliance between the two countries, Germany would be seriously handicapped in case of conflict. On the other hand, if those same air bases could be used by Germany, she would enjoy a distinct advantage. The quarrel initiated by the three million Sudeten Germans living in Czechoslovakia hinges on an issue of far greater significance than their minority rights, and it is possible that before this reaches the reader, Germany may have seized, or threatened to seize, Czechoslovakia because of that significance. It is perfectly logical to suppose that Germany's attitude toward Russia is in every respect similar to Russia's attitude toward Japan and that the same kind of tactics will be used if, as and when they appear necessary in the judgment of German leaders. It is also logical to suppose that Italy would assist Germany under such circumstances.

The unknown element of this situation consists of England and France on the one hand, and the bloc of so-called neutral states which stretches

from the Baltic to the Black Sea—with the possible exception of Hungary—on the other. These states, because of their inferior strength, want no part in a general conflict and are trying to get together not only to prevent one but to protect themselves if it occurs. England and France, especially the former, feel the same way, except that England has far more at stake and faces a far greater possibility of becoming involved.

NO ONE can examine the general line-up without finding good excuses for present-day British policy. It is one of stark opportunism because opportunism and nothing else has become the guiding force of European and Asiatic relations. No one can guess what any of the larger powers may do next because none has established a fixed course. Each and every one is watching the others and is prepared to change its attitude at a moment's notice because of what any one of the others may do. This presents England with a very complicated problem because of her vast possessions. Paradoxical as it may seem, England might find herself obliged to cooperate with Russia in the Far East, while cooperating with Germany in the West, in order to maintain that balance of power which is her traditional policy. How England might negotiate such an anomalous straddle is vividly illustrated by her conduct with respect to the Spanish revolution. While inclined to help the government forces in Spain, she has not hesitated to handicap or injure them if, by so doing, she could placate Italy and Germany. Her attitude toward Austria was similarly ambiguous, and so is her attitude

toward Czechoslovakia. In other words, England stands ready to sacrifice weak neighbors if she can establish cordial relations with more powerful ones. At the same time, she stands ready to play any powerful neighbor against another in order to keep the whip hand.

IT WOULD be much easier to guess what is going to happen next year, next month or even next week if the various issues could be isolated and dealt with separately. Each and every one, however, seems to have a definite bearing on some other, if not all others. The Czechoslovakian situation, for instance, can not be isolated from the German-Russian-Japanese embroglio, nor can the Spanish conflict be isolated from the wishful thinking which guides Italy and Germany on the one hand, and Russia on the other. Nor can either of these situations be isolated from the French and English attitude, the Sino-Japanese conflict, or the rapidly forming bloc of neutral states in Central and Western Europe. Still—and making allowance for all this—each situation is developing along lines peculiar to itself, and merits attention from that angle.

Forgetting the stormy background against which all concerned must play their parts, the Czechoslovakian problem hinges on a demand for increased minority rights, particularly as that demand has been made by the Sudeten Germans.

Representing about one-fifth of the population of Czechoslovakia, the Sudeten Germans have asked for most everything save complete independ-



—World Feature Service

Heading him off

ence, and they may ultimately ask for that. They certainly will if Herr Hitler tells them to do so. Four of their principal requests have been definitely rejected by the Czechoslovakian Government, but England has intervened for the obvious purpose of striving to modify this rejection in order to prevent the outbreak of a general conflict. The naming of Lord Runciman as mediator was accepted by all parties concerned as holding out more hope for the Sudeten Germans in their struggle for autonomy than for Czechoslovakia in her struggle to maintain complete national sovereignty. It is generally taken for granted that unless Lord Runciman is successful in persuading Czechoslovakia to make further concessions, the situation may take a grave turn at any moment. While his task appears to include no more than the issue of minority rights, no one can doubt that it must take into account Czechoslovakia's alliance with Russia, and that Germany, through the Sudeten Germans, is prepared to make things hot unless that alliance is abrogated or modified to an extent that makes it innocuous.

FROM a military standpoint, the Spanish situation remains about as it was, with the Rebels slowly gaining ground. In July, Government forces displayed an astonishing degree of strength, making marked, if temporary, gains against the Insurgent advance. They have exhibited such powers of resistance as indicate the prolongation of the war beyond what most critics expected, but they have achieved little to warrant the idea of permanent gains on their part.



—Phoenix Republic and Gazette
Change of Heart



—Daily Herald, London

But will the boots come off?

Whether the war can be stopped by diplomatic manoeuvring before Franco wins a complete victory is the one outstanding question. England and France hope it can and are obviously working with that end in view, employing every conceivable device to obtain the withdrawal of foreign troops, particularly Italian troops, for the purpose of so weakening or discouraging General Franco that he will consent to peace without victory. Thus far, they have not been very successful. Mussolini has agreed to the withdrawal of foreign troops in principle, but only if, as and when something or other occurs, which means that Italian troops remain right where they were to help the Insurgent cause.

THE Sino-Japanese war continues to fill the world with horror. Air raids by the Japanese go on, smashing cities, killing non-combatants and bringing terror to helpless Chinese for no other apparent reason than to break their spirit. The Chinese themselves burn their towns when those towns are threatened with capture, cut river dykes to drown their enemies, even though it may drown many of their own people, leaving little but parched or sodden land to be occupied.

Nothing has occurred yet in this major conflict to indicate how long it will last or where it will end. The Japanese have overrun a vast amount of territory, but their advances have been slowed down and their lines of communication are now being constantly threatened by guerrilla bands. What is worse, they are forced to withdraw large bodies of troops in order to protect their interests along the Siberian border.

While the Chinese have won no major victory, they have succeeded in

halting the Japanese advance at many points and in offering a resistance which seems to grow stronger every day.

It is impossible to survey the situation now prevailing in Europe and Asia without realizing that general conflict might be started in any one of half a dozen sore spots, and this too in spite of the fact that no great power wants it. If such a conflict breaks out, no nation save those in the New World has much hope of not becoming involved, and it is questionable whether New World nations can save themselves from that eventuality. Certainly they would have to exercise an extreme degree of caution, patience and self-control to do so, and that is particularly true of our own Government with its far-flung trade and interests. In this connection, what our Government is forced to do depends measurably on the way the people of this country think and act. The people cannot take sides and expect the Government to remain neutral; cannot fight foreign wars in their homes, their clubs and on street corners, without risking the development of such psychological pressure as might force their Government to fight. If they want America kept out of foreign wars, they must refuse to let themselves become excited over foreign quarrels; must put a stop to collectivized efforts in behalf of this or that cause, and concentrate on their own problems, of which they have plenty and to spare.

FOR one thing, the American people still face the problem of recovery—of putting ten or eleven million people back to work; of bringing about peace between labor and capital; of



At the Crossroads

—The Louisville Courier-Journal

restoring business confidence; of overcoming a continuous deficit in the Federal budget and a continuous increase of the Federal debt; of preparing themselves to vote intelligently in this Fall's elections.

All this represents a big chore even for the American people—a chore which has already consumed eight years without accomplishing anything like what was hoped for or what must be accomplished before it can be regarded as finished. During these eight years we have increased the public debt by some twenty billion dollars; have boosted Federal expenses by approximately 50 percent; have swept many of our States and cities into the mire of unbalanced budgets and greatly increased taxes. During these eight years, we have not only expanded public payrolls enormously, but have imposed on public agents the burden of providing shelter, food and clothing for millions. Whether we have established a permanent policy in this respect is a question that must be answered in the not far distant future. If we have, something must be done to disassociate the new multitude of jobholders and the still greater multitude of dependents from the field of partisan politics.

The risk of allowing emergency funds to be mixed with politics has been vividly illustrated by this Summer's scramble for nominations and

party control in several States. What various candidates have said about each other; what impartial observers have reported and, above all else, what official investigators have unearthed, leave no doubt as to the basic facts. Referring to the pre-primary situation in Pennsylvania, the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures said:

"Every scheme and questionable device that can be used in a political contest to raise funds, influence votes and to control the election is in full swing."

It requires no strain of the imagination to deduce how Government money and official power were used. The man

in the street understands perfectly well how foremen of public projects could influence voters with no more than a nod or a hint, and how relief agents could do the same thing with those in desperate need. As the situation is now set up, power to "hire and fire," provide relief, dispense subsidies or gratuities, represents nothing short of power to use public funds for campaign purposes. Several million voters have become directly or indirectly dependent on such funds for their very existence. What politician could withstand the temptation this involves?

We have opened a wide door for machine politics, peanut graft, forced collections and effective influence all along the line. Bossism and ring rule will come as natural by-products of this unholy alliance between noble charity as made possible by taxpayers and practical politics as carried on by wardheelers and henchmen. This can only be regarded as one of the gravest problems raised by the New Deal. The New Deal has become an issue not only between the Republican and Democratic Parties, but within the Democratic Party itself.

IF PRIMARIES thus far held and candidates thus far nominated show that a substantial majority of Democrats will favor the New Deal, they reveal the presence of a fighting minority against it. The New Deal has suffered more or less definite reverses in such important States as Iowa, Indiana, Missouri and Colorado, not to mention several Congressional Districts, particularly two in Virginia. On the other hand, it has triumphed in a much greater number of States where the issue was definitely raised.



Monsieur Benes in the Jaws of the Wolf

—Humanite, Paris

LATIN-AMERICAN NOTES

SOMETHING has gone wrong with the Fascist penetration in Latin America.

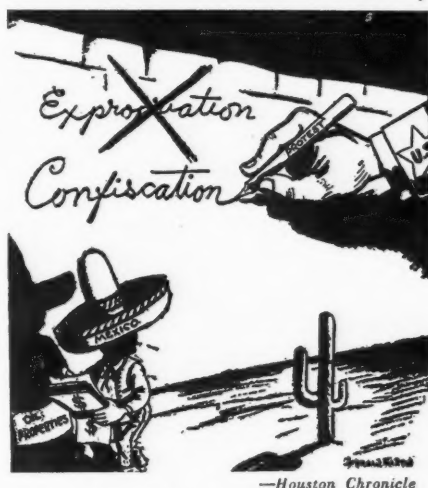
Latin-American cable news during the past few months have brought frequent reports about official measures curbing Fascist proselytism and telling of a growing anti-Fascist sentiment in many sections. The reaction is particularly noticeable in Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Parliamentary investigations of "Nazi geographic colonies" and "Fascist spiritual provinces" have been demanded. . . . Nazi schools are being closed by the local authorities. . . . No more foreign flags wave over public meetings. . . . Fascist emblems and Nazi hymns are forbidden. . . . No more broadcasting of the Horst Wessel song. . . . No more Giovinezza in public parades. . . . Apish Nazi and Fascist groups are banned. . . . A pro-Nazi member of the Chilean parliament with the fifty-fifty name of González von Marees was arrested after firing a wild shot in the legislative hall. . . . German and Italian agents are being expelled. . . . German colonies are angered by restrictions. . . . More than 12,000 Germans have gone back to the Fuhrerland during the past two months, from Rio Grande do Sul and other Brazilian states.

Fascism has been outlawed in several countries and put on trial in Brazil, following the armed attack on Guanabara Palace last May when Dr. Vargas — *en pantoufles*, and pistol in hand — had to protect Brazilian democracy.

At the same time there have been public demonstrations against Fascism, a torchlight parade of workers and students on the streets of Buenos Aires, shouting "We don't want Fascism!" Wealthy papers, "neutral" for years, are becoming articulate. Presidents and foreign ministers of several South-American republics have expressed their "faith" in democracy and taken a stand against "foreign ideologies." Rulers of lesser countries in the Central-American archipelago have mumbled apologetic denials that they are Fascist.

ALL HAD gone well with Fascist penetration since 1935, when Teuton and Roman trumpets announced to Latin America the rise of a new combina-

tion of powers that was out to capture the world. Latin-American statesmen anxiously followed the Ethiopian campaign, then the invasion and devastation of Spain. Credits were opened and concessions granted to the dashing warriors. Germany and Japan and Italy secured a larger share in the Latin-American pastoral and mineral wealth. They tapped the oil reservoir of northern South America, and bought more cotton and coffee and sugar and hides and copper and grains and vegetable oils and cacao beans and fruit and rubber than they



The Better Name for It

ever had before, paying mostly in bartered manufactures and surplus or discarded armaments. They gained political influence and secured vantage points in Latin-American military establishments. The Catholic Church preached Fascism and blessed Franco. Latin-American intellectuals learned the totalitarian vocabulary and discussed the new ideology in their cafés. The Fascist tide reached its high mark in 1937.

WHAT is turning the tide now?

In the first place, the war-panic boom that brought Fascist economic penetration is declining. The war-propelled economy of our days follows a zigzag course, and just now most Latin-American export values are descending from the 1937 peak. But there are other reasons.

Many Latin-American governments and business concerns, in their dealings with the Nazi and Fascist powers, have discovered the latter's fundamental economic weakness. Now that Germany's and Italy's feverish drive

for world economic advantage has nearly spent its force, this weakness comes into evidence. Their foreign trade is limping into a serious deficit. Their industries are operating on an uncertain basis through lack of raw materials and lack of the foreign exchange required to get them.

Germany has been acquiring Latin-American raw materials by barter, but that system has shown three disadvantages to Latin-American producers: First, it limits their purchases to German goods. Second, it tends to make Germany a middleman for their products, and Germany, by reselling Latin-American products elsewhere, collects in international free currencies which she desperately needs. And, third, it enables Germany in the resale of Latin-American products to compete in prices with the producers themselves. So in the present scramble for raw materials and industrial power—which from this angle appears as a fight between blocked and international free currencies—Latin-American producers do not find it profitable at times to have their business tied up with the mark and the lira.

In fact, the barter strategy by which Dr. Schacht outgeneraled American and British traders in many markets, clever as it may be, is nothing but a device to overcome his own and other Fascist countries' lack of gold. While it is true that the gold standard is going through chaos, gold still remains a measurement of wealth and the most effective weapon in international economic strife. The powers challenged by Fascism control the world's monetary resources through their gold holdings, which just now—including those of the United States, Britain and France—aggregate about \$19,528,000,000 out of an estimated \$26,500,000,000 total world gold stocks.

The huge naval expansion undertaken by the United States and Britain has been food for thought in Latin-American capitals. Enormously increased sea power, representing a cost of billions of dollars which German and Italian finance cannot dream of raising, means that Britain will strengthen her food-line to the South American Mesopotamia, and that the U. S. Navy will be able to extend its

defense zone, which up to the present has run north of South America, to cover all the shoreline of the southern continent. While the United States and British control the world's gold reservoir and the Latin-American sea routes, flirting with their challengers may be a risky game.

"We have the initiative in this fight," Count X, an Italian nobleman and diplomat, said not long ago to a banker in Chile between sips of curacao. "Look at Spain and Austria! The democratic powers are on the run. We have England where we want her, and some day soon we are going to blow the British Empire to pieces. Fascism will spread over the earth, and conquer America."

"Yes, yes, my dear Count," smiled the soft-voiced South American, "but — how will you manage to float in London and New York the war loan you will need to destroy Britain and America?"

Realization that economic and naval supremacy in the western hemisphere is not likely to change hands for a long time probably has a lot to do with the turning of the Fascist tide in Latin America.

Fascism opened its way into Latin America not only by hood-winking Latin-American intellectual apes, but mostly by offering business and bribes. With few exceptions, Latin-American petty dictators have always been for sale. And they are not discriminating as to sources. A few months ago the most rabid Fascist dictator of South America is said to have allowed a large shipment of munitions, sold by a neighboring landlocked country to the Spanish Loyalist forces, to pass illegally through his own country for a bribe estimated at \$100,000.

The Savoia-Marchetti, Caproni, Junkers and Heinkel bombers that have killed over 12,000 civilians and injured more than 18,000 in Spanish open towns, have aroused Latin America. Now that Britain and France are coming to terms with Italy and Germany about ending their peninsular quarrel, Latin Americans are asking themselves whether Germans and Italians went to Spain to murder Spaniards only because they did not have enough guns and enough guts to go killing Englishmen and Frenchmen.

The Fascist invasion of Spain has given the Liberal and Leftist groups of Latin America, for the first time, a common cry to rally around. Dur-

ing the past two years, the Latin-American Left has closed ranks, and built up a fighting press with nearly one hundred newspapers and magazines, many of them new. It is this anti-Fascist press that has been and is undoing the work of Latin-American venal editors.

THE most spectacular reverse for Fascism has come as an aftermath of the pajama revolution that caught Dr. Vargas in bed and nearly snatched him from the presidential palace. Ever since his coup of November, 1937, when American newspaper screamers made Brazil "a Fascist state," the Brazilian dictator and his envoys have been begging the world in general, and the coffee-drinking American public in particular, to believe them they are not Fascist. But American headlines are hard to erase.

The frustrated May *cuartelazo* apparently was an inside affair engineered with foreign help, although it has not been established who were the foreign interests involved. Brazilian authorities gave particular publicity to the finding of large amounts of German munitions, high explosives, swastika-engraved knives and daggers, etc. The Brazilian press pointed at Germany as the instigator.

This alleged German complicity was made the basis for an anti-Nazi drive that began by barring German "political and cultural activities," and then developed into a temporary suspension of barter marks purchases, ordered by the Bank of Brazil, with the requirement that Germany pay cash for Brazilian raw cotton, which had served the Reich as the main means of selling manufactures to Brazil in barter marks. The resulting conflict between Germany and Brazil places in danger Germany's greatest commercial victory in Latin America since 1934.

It is the most serious setback for Nazi economic penetration in the southern continent.

What contributes most to arrest Fascism in Latin America is the formidable American reaction. Spontaneous at the beginning, it now assumes the proportions of a vast drive by American diplomacy and American business to fight the new trade rivals in the territory, to prevent them from enlarging the vantage points they have gained during the past three years, and to counteract European political influence and the strong European armament traffic there.

ANTI-FASCIST statements by prominent American officials in the United States are having a repercussion in Latin America. U. S. Ambassador Steinhardt's tirade in Peru a short while ago was delivered within the most conspicuous tropical branch of Fascism. Radio broadcasting from the United States has been started "to offset the European propaganda in South America." A vast extension and improvement of American steamship service to Caribbean and South American ports is being carried out by the U. S. Maritime Commission. Gold credits have been granted or offered to Latin-American governments as a means of counteracting European trade competition, and the State Department has given its aid toward the settlement of Latin-American government debts.

There are American naval and military missions in Brazil and Peru, and at Argentina's request the services of eight U. S. Army aviators as technical instructors of the Argentine Air Corps were provided in an arrangement between the Buenos Aires Government and the State Department. The House Committee of Foreign Affairs has approved a project opening the doors of American military and naval schools to Latin Americans.

The forthcoming Pan-American Conference at Lima will afford American diplomacy another opportunity to organize a bi-continental alignment, after the frustrated move at Buenos Aires in 1936. During the last few months there have been persistent rumors of a planned inter-American military alliance, and, according to a recent dispatch from Washington, "United States military experts are studying the feasibility of a collective inter-American agreement for pooling strategic raw materials in the event of a war of invasion in this hemisphere."

United States trade with Latin America in 1937 (\$1,250,000,000) — in part, no doubt, a result of the boom that year — shows a large increase of about \$354,000,000 over the total for 1936 (\$896,000,000). The declining figures for the first part of this year show the effect of the 1938 slump.

One weak point in the anti-Fascist drive is the fact that in many instances American interests in South America are now dealing with Germany, Italy and Japan in South-American products, and helping them carry on their wars of conquest elsewhere.

GENARO ARBAIZA

BALANCE SHEET IN CHINA

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

MORE THAN a year has passed since the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War. By contrast with the hostilities which have taken place during that time, the first war between China and Japan, in 1894-95, was little more than a contest of Gilbert and Sullivan soldiers.

Japan's losses have not yet reached the figures of the Russo-Japanese War, when tens of thousands of her soldiers moved with fatalistic courage to certain death before Russian artillery at Port Arthur. Nevertheless, according to the best available information (and accurate casualty lists are conspicuously lacking), the killed and wounded are in the neighborhood of 200,000. This lifts the present conflict far out of the category of what Japanese generals and statesmen like to refer to as "incidents." Chinese losses are at least five times as great, with a much larger proportion of killed and permanently disabled because of inadequate medical and sanitary facilities.

No one knows how many Chinese civilians have perished; but the virtual depopulation of large regions in the Shanghai-Nanking area is ominous. The number who have been uprooted and have fled from their homes runs into many millions. Still greater disasters—famine, flood and pestilence—loom up as only too probable developments of the future.

As yet there is no sign of cessation. Whatever Japanese and Chinese leaders may know inwardly about the weaknesses of their respective countries, they present a stiff and unbending front toward the outside world. Neither in Tokyo nor in Hankow does one hear any formula that might pave the way for peace by negotiation and agreement. Shortly before he resigned from office, Foreign Minister Koki Hirota outlined Japan's policy to the writer in the following terms:

"Japan does not intend to negotiate peace with the Chiang Kai-shek regime, but looks forward to the steady development of the new governments at Peking and Nanking which, when merged into one administration, will constitute a regime strong enough to

take care of all affairs of the territory under their respective jurisdictions."

This declaration implies the establishment of a Manchukuo relationship, of a Japanese protectorate over a large and expanding part of North and Central China, including some of China's largest cities and most developed industrial districts. Hirota's resignation has in no way modified Japan's policy. The sweeping shake-up of the cabinet was motivated by a desire to speed up the prosecution of the war.

On the Chinese front there is just as little evidence of yielding. Individuals who have recently talked with Marshal Chiang Kai-shek report that he is thinking in terms of a war as long as the American War of Independence. Nothing appears to have occurred that might change the belief of China's nationalist leaders that peace means surrender, that there is nothing to do but to fight on.

Oriental diplomacy is proverbially supple and resourceful. More than once in the past a threatened war between China and Japan has been averted by some last minute face-saving compromise. Now that the war is here, however, it is extremely difficult to stop on any mutually satisfactory basis. The stakes are too great. For Japan, committed since 1931 to expansion on the Asiatic continent, all its prestige as a great power is bound up with victory. To China, acceptance of defeat and peace on Japan's terms mean the end of national independence.

EVEN for an outsider it is hard to foresee what the situation in China will be after the end of hostilities. In this writer's opinion, China lacks the military force—artillery, tanks, airplanes, and other weapons—necessary to inflict decisive defeat on Japan and compel the evacuation of occupied territory. Prophecy is always hazardous, but it would seem that the capture of Hankow, like the driving of Chinese forces away from Shanghai and the fall of Nanking and of Hsuehchow-fu, is merely a question of time.

It is almost equally difficult to regard as a practical possibility a Jap-

anese occupation of the whole of China. True, Great Britain conquered in India a subcontinent with a population second only to that of China. But the British conquest was achieved at a time when nationalist sentiment was much less acute than it is today. British rule in India, moreover, has been made possible by the existence among the Indian peoples of profound differences of race, religion and caste which find no adequate parallels in China.

In China, Japan must face a far more homogeneous people than confronted Great Britain in India. Anti-Japanese feeling is a common unifying force in places as far removed as Manchukuo, where guerrilla warfare still continues in the northeastern provinces, and Kwangsi, which supplied a considerable proportion of the troops which held out for months before giving up Hsuehchow-fu. The conquest of all China seems beyond Japan's resources, just as the expulsion of the Japanese from occupied territory seems beyond China's power.

Perhaps the best way to gain an insight into the future of the Sino-Japanese conflict is to draw up a balance-sheet of the first year of struggle. Two outstanding items are, I think, Japan's consistent military superiority and China's surprisingly unbroken unity. It is a matter of opinion which will prove more important in the long run.

JAPAN'S record of victories in the larger campaigns is one hundred per cent complete. Every objective has been achieved—first, the Peking-Tientsin area; then Shanghai; later Nanking and the remainder of North China; more recently Hsuehchowfu and the important line of the Lunghai Railway.

No doubt the time required and the cost in men and munitions were greater than the Japanese general staff anticipated. Guerrilla warfare has been annoyingly persistent. There have been local reverses, the most noteworthy at Taierschwang, in South Shantung, about the middle of last April. The scope and significance of this setback, ignored in Japan, were

exaggerated in China and in countries where public opinion is sympathetic with China.

By and large, however, the war has vindicated the virtually unanimous judgment of military experts in the Far East that Japan's fighting machine is decisively superior to that of China. The Japanese soldier has maintained his reputation for fighting spirit. I have heard from Chinese sources that it proved almost impossible to take Japanese captives, though the attempt probably was not made very often in a war where ruthlessness has been the watchword on both sides. But where Chinese communist guerrillas went out of their way to take prisoners for exhibition or propaganda purposes, the Japanese, even after they were bound hand and foot, kicked and struggled until they had to be killed for lack of means to carry them off. Japan's military spokesman at Shanghai boasted that no Japanese officer had been captured during a year of fighting. To be captured is a disgrace which he must wipe out by committing suicide.

Japanese staff work has clicked. Advances have been carried out according to plan in the face of such natural obstacles as floods, tremendous heat, and mountains. Mechanized units of the Japanese army have displayed dash and initiative in rushing well ahead of the main units and in seizing important points along the railways. Some of the chances which these isolated advance units have taken are criticized as excessive by foreign military observers; but they usually have not led to disaster in the face of a technically inferior opponent like the Chinese.

What the Chinese lack is certainly not courage; their troops have borne with stolid heroism the terrific punishment which overwhelmingly superior artillery and aviation can inflict. Their morale has survived the almost unimaginable suffering that comes from gangrenous untreated wounds.

What has been lacking is organization, training, competent leadership, equality in munitions and supplies. China has paid a terrible price for the fact that she was two generations behind Japan in trying to learn what the West could offer in military and industrial technique. Indeed, a main issue of the present war is whether China is to modernize itself under its own leadership, or whether it will have to accept Japanese tutelage and domination.

Mere courage and unlimited reserves of manpower have not made up for lack of regular military training, of competent officers, of skilled aviators. Chinese troops, according to foreign military experts, have often displayed a familiar psychological trait of raw levies: willingness to fight stubbornly so long as they have an enemy directly in front of them, but almost panicky susceptibility to the danger of being outflanked.

Japan's hardest military task was probably at Shanghai, where the Chinese held a short front, with one flank resting on the broad Yangtze River. A surprise landing in Hangchow Bay, on the right flank of the Chinese, helped to turn the Chinese retreat from Shanghai into a disorderly rout, which was only stemmed at the approaches to Nanking.

The Chinese were heartened by the long period last Spring when the Japanese were held north of the Lunghai Railway. But it is a question whether this Chinese success was not largely attributable to the Japanese effort to carry out too ambitious operations with too few troops. At any rate, the key junction of Hsuehchow-fu and other points along the Lunghai fell rapidly when a more energetic policy of prosecuting the war coincided with the cabinet shake-up in Tokyo.

IN THE air, as on land and at sea, Japan's supremacy is undisputed. There is something about aviation that seems to predispose to mendacity; Japanese and Chinese reports of the results of air raids and air battles differ so widely that there is little possibility of arriving at any reliable conclusions. Nevertheless, Japan's mastery of the air is beyond question. There are no Chinese air raids on Japanese territory, or on strategic points within the Japanese lines, that compare in number and effectiveness with the Japanese air bombings of Hankow and Canton. The acquisition of several hundred Soviet airplanes has not appreciably altered this situation. Indeed, Japanese military circles profess to be surprised by the poor showing of Soviet airplanes, which are said to be faster than the Japanese machines but lacking in capacity for speedy turning and maneuvering when it comes to fighting at close quarters.

Against this Japanese military superiority one must set, as the second main feature of the first year of war, China's unprecedented unity. To Japan

this unity has been a surprise, and an unpleasant one. Immediately after the outbreak of fighting in the Peking-Tientsin area, there was widespread hope in Tokyo that Chiang Kai-shek would do nothing to help North China, that this region would be taken over by Japan with little bloodshed.

All such expectations were disappointed when the fighting began at Shanghai in August, 1937. It was the next Japanese calculation that some of the Chinese provincial warlords would throw over Chiang and hasten to make their own terms with Japan as soon as the Japanese army really showed its teeth. This expectation also miscarried.

Japan experienced a third disappointment when the capture of Nanking, last December, failed to bring about the end of the war.

I am inclined to believe that the fall of Hankow, if and when it occurs, will be the most important development in the Sino-Japanese war to date. It should furnish the decisive test of whether superior Japanese military strength can break Chinese unity and turn back the trend, so marked during the last few years, toward a stronger nationalist state in China.

Hankow is a key point of China's rail and river transportation, fairly close to the geographical center of the country. The newly completed Hankow-Canton railway, which has proved of inestimable value to China in the present struggle, is a veritable lifeline for munitions imported through Hong Kong and for food from the rich rice-producing province of Hunan.

All these strategic advantages will be lost if Chiang Kai-shek is obliged to quit Hankow for Kunming, capital of Yunnan Province, or for Chungking in Szechuen. Geographical disintegration will inevitably set in. All the centrifugal tendencies on which Japan has been relying, so far without success, will be intensified: the old antagonism between the Kwangsi generals, Li Tsung-yen and Pai Chung-hsi, on one side, and Chiang Kai-shek, on the other, the distrust between the Kuomintang and the Communists.

Once in possession of Hankow, it will be far easier for Japan to assume the position that Chiang Kai-shek may be ignored. Japan will then possess all that part of China which has hitherto counted in commercial intercourse with the outside world, except for Canton; and recent air raids may prove the prelude to an attack in force on

this metropolis of South China.

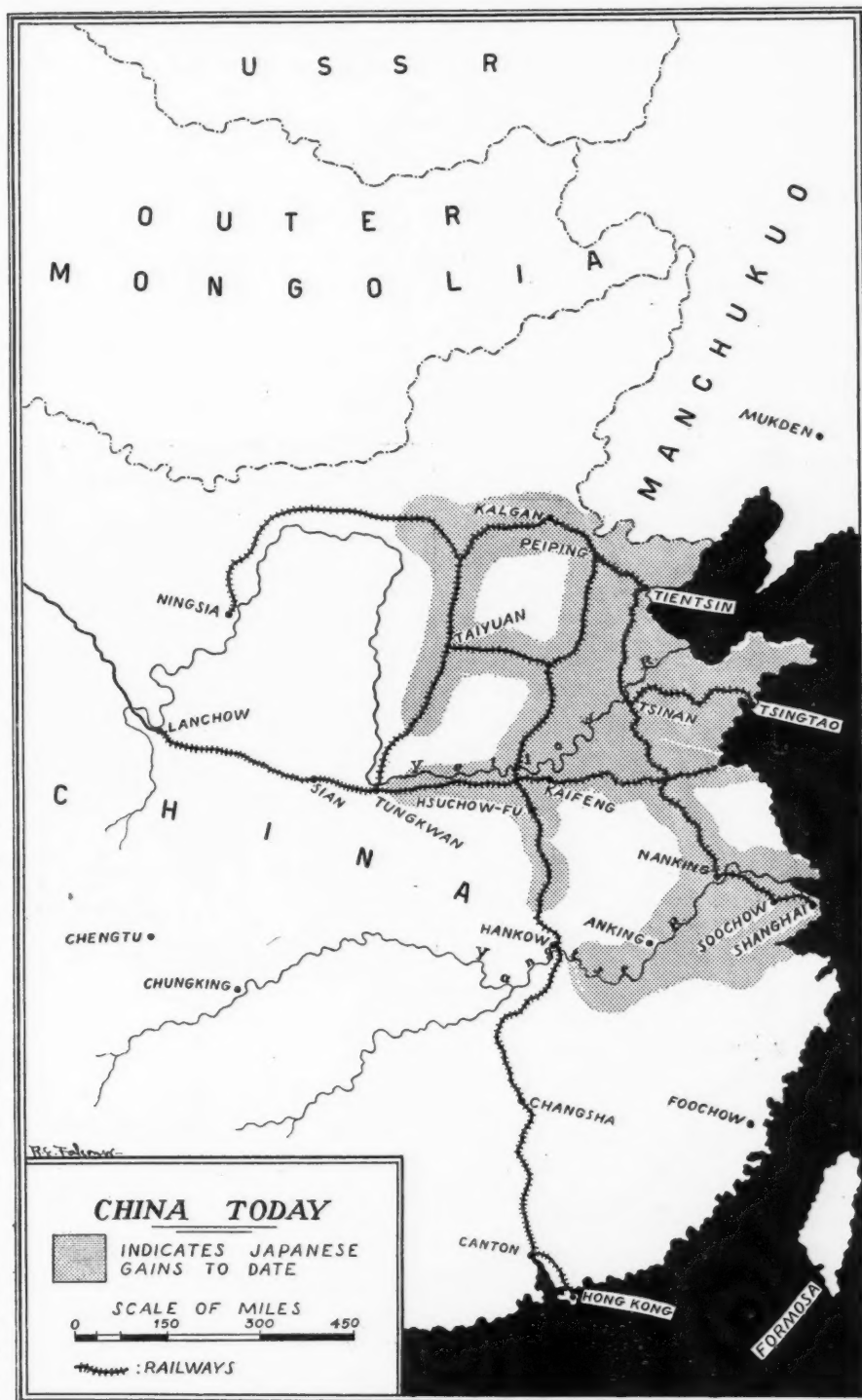
There is brave talk on the Chinese side of building up a new China in the deep interior of Yunnan, Szechuen, Kweichow, Kwangsi, and other provinces which are geographically almost out of Japan's reach. But it would be a long and difficult task to bring effective modernization to regions which are, for the most part, extremely backward educationally and economically, where there are no railways or large factories, where considerable numbers of the people are chronically sodden with opium-smoking.

Hankow will bring the Japanese liabilities as well as advantages. Lines of communication, already severely harassed by Chinese guerrillas, will be considerably extended. More troops will be needed for garrison and patrol duty if there is to be reasonable safety of operation on the Tientsin-Pukow, Peking-Hankow and Lunghai railways. Moreover, Hankow represents, I think, the last point (with the possible exception of Canton) to which Japanese military occupation can profitably be pushed. Any further advance into the hinterland, where there are no railways and few motor roads, can only play into the hands of China and facilitate its guerrilla warfare.

So the impending drive on Hankow may be the last operation in which Japanese military superiority is of paramount importance. It suggests a desperate cast of the dice, a supreme effort to win the decisive victory which Japan badly needs.

If the wishful thinking that is very audible in Tokyo now is vindicated, the fall of Hankow will mean the break-up and disintegration in the Chinese nationalist ranks, and the inability of Chiang Kai-shek to function further as a national leader and focus of resistance to Japan. It will mean the willingness of some of the conservative Kuomintang politicians and Chinese bankers to talk peace on Japan's terms, and the slackening, if not complete collapse, of China's military resistance. If all these things occur, or a considerable part of them, the Japanese army may feel justified in its reckoning of conquest.

On the other hand, if China can adjust itself to the loss of Hankow, if national unity remains unbroken, if stiff resistance can still be maintained on an increasingly farflung front while mobile units continue to harass the



ever lengthening Japanese lines of communication, if social order and some kind of financial stability can be maintained—then the outlook for Japan will be far from bright.

It is not only that Japan's economic weaknesses, shortage of gold and tightness of credit abroad, a rising cost of living, a steady ebbing away of foreign markets, an ever lengthening list of deprivations for the people, will prove cumulative in effect. Even more important will be the fact that the Japanese military machine, formidable as it is, will simply be lost in China's endless expanse of territory.

So the crux of the immediate future in the Sino-Japanese conflict is not whether Hankow will be captured, for Japan can take Hankow or Canton, or both, if it puts in enough men and enough guns. The vital question is, what will be the effect on China of losing its last foothold in that part of the country which has been built up with the aid of foreign industry and commerce, of being thrown back on its vast undeveloped hinterland?

In the answer to that question lies the key to the ultimate issue of the Far Eastern conflict, of which the second year is already well under way.

ST. PAUL WINS A WAR

By STANLEY HIGH

EARLY in 1934, when the gangsters were in full flower and the Federal Bureau of Investigation had on its hands an ugly and increasing crop of kidnappings, bank hold-ups, jail deliveries, and machine-gun murders, Homer S. Cummings, Attorney General of the United States, surveyed the country's crime map and designated St. Paul, Minnesota, as "the nation's poison spot of crime." St. Paul—old, substantial and perhaps a little smug—was shocked. But it did not sue for slander. It undertook, rather, to do a number of other things which were more to the point. As a result of what it did, today—four years after Mr. Cummings' stigmatization—St. Paul is a closed-tight town and one of the most crime-free cities of its size in the entire country.

St. Paul's one-time status in the world of crime was established in the period before the World War when the O'Connor brothers—Dick and John—were the chief custodians of the city's civic virtues. Dick was the local Democratic Boss. John was the Chief of Police. In his hey-day, John was gratefully known in our coast-to-coast underworld as "The Big Fellow." His chief claim to that gratitude—and to fame—rests upon the fact that he invented the "O'Connor System" and, for many years, made St. Paul its proving ground.

The O'Connor System was simple and, on the face of it at least, exceedingly practical. It was a mere matter of *quid pro quo*. St. Paul's police gave shelter to the nation's big-shot law-breakers. And the law-breakers, in return, agreed to do none of their law-breaking in St. Paul. There was only one formality involved. The crook, arriving with his record and his loot, was required by the system's unwritten law to "check in" with the police. After that an almost impenetrable screen was drawn around him and the hot trail of the pursuing officers of the law went cold.

From the viewpoints of both O'Connor and the crooks, the system worked. The Chief's records could be counted on, at any time, to contain the names of scores of criminals wanted in other

cities who were safely sheltered in St. Paul. And St. Paul, as proof that it had struck a good bargain, could point to an enviably crime-free record.

John O'Connor died in the early Twenties and his immediate successors attempted to carry on his system. But they had neither the understanding nor



Bureau of Investigation, whose men have aided localities in flushing out public enemies.

the authority of "The Big Fellow." The crooks continued to use St. Paul as a refuge but they were less meticulous than before to observe their agreement to keep the peace. Robberies and hi-jacking in smaller communities within the St. Paul trading area were credited to the sheltered members of the city's underworld, and the consequent complaints were bad for business. Eventually, the Federal Bureau of Investigation entered more aggressively into the crime picture and the resulting attention, culminating in the statement of the Attorney General, began to stir the city's law-abiding citizens out of their lethargy.

The demand for a wholesale clean-up, however, did not reach significant proportions until crime on a large scale began to reach St. Paul. In fact, it was not until the wave of kidnappings with which the country and St. Paul, in particular, were visited between 1932 and 1934 that the people of the community began, seriously, to bestir themselves.

WHAT they found, when they began to lift the lid, was not pleasant. The city, through the operation of the O'Connor System, had become the hang-out of the most notorious of the country's gangsters: the Barker-Karpis mob, the Dillinger and the Sawyer-Pifer gangs. And off and on it served as the base of operations of most of the men who rated near the top among the nation's Public Enemies.

These were the "heavies." Around them there was a whole community of lesser crooks and hangers-on: gamblers, dope-peddlers, white-slavers and a formidable company of criminal lawyers. The town was probably the fencing capital of the United States—the place where it was easiest and safest to dispose of stolen goods and "hot money." First and greatest of the fences was Danny Hogan—eventually murdered by a gang of his dissatisfied clients. The business of fencing, however, was not interrupted by this murder and it eventually became the accepted practice of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, after a bank robbery almost anywhere in the United States, to look for the money first among the fences of St. Paul.

The city was wide open. Liquor was sold, legally or illegally, in at least 1000 places. Gambling—the policy game, pin balls, slot machines and punch boards—flourished under police protection. Punch-board gambling alone accounted for between five and ten million dollars annually. The dope business and prostitution flourished with very little police restraint.

To top off these discoveries and put the final impetus behind demands for a civic clean-up, the gangs themselves broke loose early in 1932. There were five gang murders, three large-scale gang robberies and two nationally publicized kidnappings in the city in a little more than a year. In one of the kidnappings, that of William Hamm, in June, 1933, the Karpis gang collected a ransom of \$100,000. The O'Connor System, apparently, still furnished protection for the big shots of the underworld but no longer operated to protect St. Paul.

Then, on January 15, 1934, the city was host to a particularly revolting machine-gun murder. The police, oblivious to the rising resentment against lawlessness, followed what seemed to be their customary lackadaisical procedure. Howard Kahn, editor of the *St. Paul Daily News*, after taking counsel with some of the city's civic and business leaders, decided that the time had come to turn what had been a mild desire for a clean-up into a first-rate crusade. Two days later, the same issue of the *Daily News* which carried the front-page announcement of this declaration of war, carried also the front-page story of the St. Paul kidnapping of Edward Bremer and the \$200,000 demand for his ransom.

That crime, the subsequent statement of the Attorney General, and the day-after-day exposures and attacks of the *Daily News* and other St. Paul papers culminated in a Grand Jury investigation. But some of the responsible officials were still unconvinced that the town meant business. Their cooperation was considerably less than half-hearted; they managed to "reach" some of the jurors and the result was a whitewash. St. Paul, the jury concluded, had a generally satisfactory police department, suffered from no more than a normal quota of crime, and was not a hang-out for crooks.

THAT was the last day of March, 1934. It looked to Howard Kahn of the *Daily News* and his associates as though lawlessness in St. Paul was due for another lease of life. But, for the second time, the gangs turned cooperative. At noon on March 31, the foreman of the grand jury went on the radio with his story. During the fifteen minutes that the town was tuned in to his whitewash, the reception of the program was interrupted in one of the city's respectable residential districts by a machine-gun fusillade. St. Paul, said the foreman, is not a haven of refuge for gangsters. But within an hour extras were on the streets telling how John Dillinger and Evelyn Fectette had shot their way to freedom through a cordon of Federal agents.

A night or two later a group of prominent citizens, thoroughly alarmed and aroused, met with Howard Kahn in a downtown business office. As a result of that meeting, \$60,000 in cash was pledged to Kahn with instructions to spend the money to close down on the underworld and clean out the

crooks. The day he received that fund Kahn flew to Washington, consulted with Federal authorities and 72 hours later was back in St. Paul with eight furloughed government agents and a plan of campaign.

Chief of the investigators was Wallace Jamie, then 24 years old and a veteran. His father was a former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and at one time a member of Chicago's famous "Secret Six" which, among other things, rid that city of Al Capone and broke up his gang. Young Jamie, red-headed, husky, a

and, one after another, Jamie cut in on all the wires and led the connection into his own control-room which he had set up in a cubby-hole in another deserted part of the building. The problem still remained of determining the numbers called on dial phones. Jamie, himself, constructed a device that made it possible for him to trace all dialed calls even though the parties in conversation did not give their names.

As a next step, Kahn secured a staff of trustworthy stenographers who,



Some of the public enemies caught in the net of the Federal Bureau of Investigation during its clean-up of St. Paul: (left to right) Alvin Karpis, Sam Coker, Dolores Delaney and William Weaver.

teetotaler and a vegetarian, was a graduate of the University of Chicago and a former student at the Police School of Northwestern University. In three years as a Federal agent, he had earned a reputation as one of the best of the college-trained young men who were enlisting as career men in the war on crime.

After six months of under-cover work, Jamie came to Kahn with his first detailed report. He had evidence enough to satisfy himself, though probably not a jury, that a number of the top officials in the Police Department were involved, up to the hilt, in the crime racket. Aiming to make the evidence trial-proof, he proposed to tap the wires at the Police Department's telephones. Kahn called on H. E. Warren, newly-elected Commissioner of Public Safety, who was whole-heartedly back of the investigation. Warren gave the wire-tapping his immediate authorization and Jamie went into action.

In his preparatory investigations he had found that all the telephone wires at police headquarters entered the building through a single terminal box. This box, fortunately, was in a remote corner of the building and Jamie went to work on it without fear of discovery. Each wire had an identifying tag

with headphones and notebooks, sat in twenty-four hour shifts and took down all messages. Later, for fear these stenographic notes might not be admitted as evidence, a "pam-o-graph" was installed which, when attached to the tapped wires, recorded the conversations on aluminum disks. In a number of instances the courts had ruled that these records, played to a jury, were admissible as evidence. All told, some 2,500 telephone conversations were recorded, approximately 90 per cent of them incriminating.

The choicest of these interchanges between the police and the underworld went into seven-column, streamer-headed boxes on the front page of the *News*.

"Didn't I promise you I'd have that fellow back in jail this morning?"—this was from an underworld lawyer to a police official who had agreed to smooth the way for his criminal client. Another lawyer threatened police headquarters for holding another crook-client: "You get that fixed up—or else!" Prompt action, as arranged between the police and the underworld, when female criminals were involved: "Hello! Inspector? This is—. Listen, you got —, my client, down there?" "Who is she?" "An innocent little girl. I knew her in Can-

REGARDLESS of the obstacles which confront the federal special agents, they are making their mark in the world of police. In the future they ought to become increasingly effective. At least J. Edgar Hoover is planning that they shall. Not that they are to replace local and state police, but, rather, that they are to supplement local police and to handle those crimes which are obviously national in nature.

Hoover hopes, also, to see the day when a national training school can be organized which will impart the latest methods to our various law-enforcement organizations. He dreams, too, of a state police in each of our states and of a national teletype or radio communication system by which every police department in the nation can be informed daily of the criminal's activities.—*Crime, Crooks and Cops*, by August Vollmer and Alfred E. Parker.

ada." "I'll let her go." "All right."

In the following manner Chief Inspector Crumley warned one of the members of the city's resident gambling ring, "Dutch Otto," that he had better look out for trouble at the Royal Cigar Store, one of his favorite hang-outs. Crumley called Dutch Otto's home. The gambler was out, so the police official passed on his tip to a relative: "Hello." "Hello, partner." "Say, get hold of that Dutchman, d'ya see . . . get him away from there . . . I don't want him to get no rap for it." "Yeah, I see, I'll get him worked on right away." "Okay, partner."

The considerate Mr. Crumley on another day spoke on the phone to Art Miller, gambler-gangster. "Lo, Art. This is Jim Crumley. How's everything?" "Pretty good, Jim." "Say, are you cheating over there today?" "Yeah . . . Will you take care of us?" "I'll do the best I can." "Fine. We'll take care of you too, pally."

On another occasion, in a moment of unexplained zeal, the police arrested a notorious hi-jacker. The underworld's machinery immediately went into action. A boss gangster—wanted, incidentally, by the Government—called Mr. Crumley at his home. "Hello, Jim. How are you, kid?" "Fine, partner." "Say, listen. What's the reasons and how many for keeping this guy there?" "What do you want?" "Why don't you let the fellow out—then I'll see you after a while." "All right. Tell Freddie to go ahead." "Tell Freddie to leave him out?" "Yeah." "Okay." Crumley, apparently with an eye to his reward, added: "You'll take care of that, though?" "Don't worry about it."

Frequently the services of the professional bondsman—friend and mainstay of organized crime—were wanted in a hurry. The police, on such occasions, lent a helping hand. Here a

criminal lawyer and a police official arranged matters. The police official: "How are you?" The lawyer: "All right!" "You get hold of ———. Tell him sharp and sweet—just tell him he'd better renew that bond for McLaughlin" . . . "Right. I'll tell him to call you." McLaughlin—here the object of so much police solicitude was later convicted as the money changer in the Bremer kidnapping case.

This accumulated evidence was too irrefutable and the rising determination of St. Paul's citizenry too potent to be denied, and the result was a second Grand Jury investigation in the summer of 1935. It did no whitewashing. On the contrary, it returned a total of 21 indictments—most of them against police officials. Two high officers went to jail; the chief of police, the chief of detectives, the assistant chief of detectives, the head of the kidnap squad, and a number of lesser officials were removed from office.

Having rid itself of the worst spots in the police personnel, the city, at the next election, overwhelmingly adopted an amendment to its charter which made the position of police chief subject to special civil service requirements and took it permanently out of politics.

Then, as insurance against relapse, St. Paul elected Gus Barfuss to its City Council as Commissioner of Public Safety—an office which has general direction over the Chief of Police and his Department. Gus Barfuss, as he tells you and his friends know, is neither a politician nor a reformer. He is a policeman and he looks and talks the part. For twenty-six years he was the leader among the men on the force who looked upon their job as one of law enforcement and who refused to do business with the underworld. For

that he was viewed with suspicion by his less scrupulous superiors and kept, as much as possible, in minor posts. His close associate during those years was another honest policeman—Clinton Hackert—who is now the city's Chief of Police.

Barfuss and Hackert, during the last two years, have done honest policemen's jobs. Their record speaks for itself. In every major crime classification for cities of 250,000, St. Paul is well below the national average. The national average per 100,000 for murders, in 1937, in cities of that size was 6.8; for St. Paul, 1.47. The national average for robbery was 81.5; for St. Paul 57.43. The national average for aggravated assault was 45.5; for St. Paul 11.78. There were no kidnappings, no machine-gunning; fencing establishments have been closed out and the fencers jailed or deported; persistent raiding, jail sentences and the revoking of some 200 liquor, pool-hall and restaurant licenses have put an end to gambling; houses of prostitution have been closed.

St. Paul, according to the record, the testimony of the crooks themselves and as indicated by the wide berth they give the city, has ceased to be a refuge and has become a plague to the law-breakers.

The city relishes its change of status and is determined to continue it. In fact, that question was an issue in the primary election held in March, 1938. A group of fifty of the city's ministers directed a questionnaire to each of the candidates for local office asking their stand on a closed-tight town. The citizens of the community, when that questionnaire was published, understood for the first time that this election was an opportunity to approve or disapprove of the new order of things. They overwhelmingly approved. Gus Barfuss, candidate for re-election on the basis of his clean-up record, led the entire ticket with more votes than any council candidate had ever received in the city's history.

With that endorsement from its citizens, there appears to be no comfort on the St. Paul horizon for the nation's crooks. Gus Barfuss will continue the law-enforcing job he waited 26 years to begin and Howard Kahn can be satisfied, at last, that the citation for civic achievement contained in the national Pulitzer Award which hangs in his office in the *Daily News* is no exaggeration.

POLAND RIDES THE TIGER

Foreign Minister Beck's maneuvers are aimed to give Poland the most commanding position on the Continent

By FRANK C. HANIGHEN

POLAND ten years ago was Germany's bitterest enemy. Today it seems to be playing the role of Hitler's partner in crime. After helping to sabotage the League of Nations, Poland periodically steps on its ruins. Whenever Berlin provokes a crisis, Warsaw snubs Paris, its former and, even yet, technical ally. And around Czechoslovakia, focal point of the struggle for central Europe, Poland plays Germany's game so consistently that one might pardonably confuse the personality of Foreign Minister Joseph Beck of Poland with Sudeten-fuehrer Konrad Henlein of Czechoslovakia.

Yet the reasons for the antagonism of a decade ago still survive. The Polish corridor cuts Germany off from her richest agricultural province, East Prussia. The new boom port of Polish Gdynia now elbows out German Danzig as the Hamburg of the Baltic. Meanwhile Poland deals sternly with the half-million Germans within its borders. A state like this—on Germany's route to the Russian Ukraine—invites retribution. Will Germany, after swallowing Czechoslovakia, settle scores with Poland? Like the lady from Niger, the Polish Government apparently elects to ride the tiger.

The force which has hoisted Poland to this precarious position, according to many western liberal observers, is the personality of its Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck. Without Beck, they suggest, Poland would take its place among the ranks of the democratic powers opposing Germany. The Foreign Minister, it is true, has a long-standing bias against the French which has undoubtedly influenced his policy. It may even be that this Polish Junker has entered into secret understandings with General Goering of Germany on some of the famous hunting parties they have enjoyed together. For, regardless of Beck, Poland has not the strength in military, social and governmental resources to fill the role of anti-fascism's front-line champion.

Poland's weakness is especially apparent in its military establishment. On the surface the large Polish army

and reserve of man power are formidable, and the fact that more than half the budget is devoted to military expenditures appears impressive. But on closer examination the Polish defense force fails to measure up to the standards of modern warfare. In motorization and mechanization it rates far below that of other western European armies. The air force is twenty years behind the times. Worst showing of all is in the most important factor—war potential. The country's industry stands at a low level of development, and the raw materials that feed it come largely from abroad. French loans of two years ago have pushed the ambitious schemes for industrial mobilization only a few steps ahead. Thus there is but one automobile factory, though Czechoslovakia, for comparison, has six. New airplane factories have largely a paper value; on investigation one of the most widely advertised turned out to have only 16 employees.

By all military standards, in fact, Poland would prove but a frail reed behind which democratic countries could take shelter. No one knows this better than the military men who run the government.

Moreover, even generals can perceive that social conditions are little better. Over 70 per cent of Poland's population live on the land. A considerable fraction of peasants are landless and exist in a condition of near-serfdom under large landlords. The majority own such tiny and badly arranged parcels of land that they earn only a bare subsistence. On the industrial side, the workers suffer from low pay, with the cost of living rising. The surplus population from the agrarian areas, and the youth of the middle-classes in the towns, find no outlet into the professions or into trade and business enterprises, which have long been stagnating.

Since the large Jewish minority for centuries have held most of the positions in these middle-class pursuits, anti-semitism is growing rapidly. Finally, other minorities—the Ukrainians numbering about six million, the

White Ruthenians between two and three million—agitate for special rights and autonomy.

This ferment grows from year to year. In August, 1937, two million peasants staged a strike, refusing to sell their crops in protest against the Government's political policy and low prices. The strike lasted two weeks in spite of efforts to suppress it by force. Government police killed at least 47 peasants, burned many farm-houses and imprisoned large numbers of strikers. Among the industrial workers, bitter memories of riots accompanying the industrial strikes of two years ago still linger. In March, 1937, the Lithuanian crisis gave rise to wild scenes of Jew-beating and attacks on Jewish shops. The Ukrainian minority remains restless, and it is reported that during army maneuvers in Ukrainian districts soldiers encountered hatred and sabotage, not unlike that of an invaded territory.

SUCH a picture suggests imminent revolution. Yet revolution seems remote, for various reasons. An attempt to solve the agrarian problem—Poland's most pressing enigma—by complete expropriation of big estates would fail, because it would not remove basic economic difficulties. As a matter of fact, land distribution has been carried on ever since the war, with only partial alleviation of peasant discontent. Peasant party leaders know that even if the big landlords were wiped out and the small peasant holdings increased, they would still have a stiffer task—employment of the enormous surplus farm population in industry.

To accomplish this, they would have to launch a series of five-year plans for intensive industrialization. Hence, the Peasant party and the Socialist party look to democratic methods of change, and work steadily for the free elections which the present Government refuses to hold. Free elections, parties feel, would put them in power and give them a chance to launch a Polish New Deal!

The best way to interpret Poland's

muddled political situation seems to be as follows: The Government, composed of reactionary—but as yet not Fascist—army leaders and bureaucrats, keeps in power by balancing itself delicately on an equilibrium of the forces of extreme Right and Left. This Government knows that free parliamentary elections would result in its complete rout. It also fears to introduce Fascism, which might turn Poland into a puppet of Germany. Therefore it postpones parliamentary elections and sits solemnly on the Government benches in parliament, the Sejm, which the Socialist, Peasant and extreme Right parties boycott.

On the other hand, the Government throws the Fascist elements some sops; permitting, for example, the students to stone Jewish shops during the recent Lithuanian crisis. At the same time, it handles the Left rather gingerly. It never sends the army, composed of sons of peasants, against peasant demonstrations, relying on the urbanized, well-paid police force.

In short, the Government seems determined to avoid any incident which might start a general conflagration.

With such a teeter-totter government in power, the foreign policy becomes understandable. In internal matters it has achieved a sort of balance of power. But across its borders, because of weakness, it has yielded to the absence of a balance of power.

In 1933, Poland was said to have urged France to join in waging a preventive war against the then weak military power of Hitler. France refused. Thereupon, Poland retired to a position of neutrality between its two neighbors, Germany and Russia. But while the power of Germany grew, that of Russia waned.

True, Russian military power actually grew, but Moscow used it to back up a policy of collective security based on expectation of cooperation from Britain and France. Britain and France reneged. This failure of collective security and Russia as a counterpoise to Germany naturally reacted on Poland. Warsaw drew nearer to Berlin.

ALL this has occurred not without some reservations on the part of Colonel Beck. His policy, while serving Germany's ends, has been aimed at keeping Poland from complete dependence on Germany. He has flirted with the idea of a Five-Power European Pact, with Poland holding the

balance between the forces of Germany and Italy on the one hand and Britain and France on the other. He has also tried to foster a Baltic-Black Sea axis, uniting the little Baltic republics with Poland and Rumania in a string of alliances as a buffer between Russia and Germany. In the last year, he has done a lot of travelling between Riga and Bucharest.

Since Beck carries in his suit-case few bargaining counters, however, he has met with little success. Estonia and Latvia remain coy, for Poland is not strong enough to replace Russia as their protector against Germany. Lithuania, traditionally anti-Polish, stays sulky, fearing Poland as much as Germany. Rumania, while keeping up her alliance with Poland, has maintained an attitude of reserve. King Carol last year went to Warsaw and was impressed by the imposing parade of Polish troops. But he also visited Czechoslovakia and was more impressed by the chimneys of Skoda.

Lacking bargaining power in diplomacy, Beck has turned to threats and the exploitation of a warlike situation. Poland's sensational action against Lithuania last March illustrated this. The Polish threat to make war on Lithuania was designed to prevent either Germany or Russia from bringing this strategic Baltic point under its domination. It was also designed to bring Lithuania under Poland's wing. Nationalist parties in Poland wanted the Government to invade and annex Lithuania. Whether such a move was seriously considered or not, the attitude of the Great Powers probably forced a peaceful solution. Poland obtained a partial victory by forcing Lithuania to regularize relations, exchange diplomats, and open the frontier closed since 1920.

Poland may follow up this success by moving to bring Lithuania completely under her domination, but for the present it is doubtful whether the settlement has made the Lithuanian Government any more willing to join Beck's eastern bloc.

The most striking instance of this desperate phase of Polish foreign policy has appeared in the case of Czechoslovakia. Poland nourishes an old grudge against its Slav neighbor to the south. In 1920, while Poland was fighting Russia, Czechoslovakia made war on Poland and took Teschen. Poland has never forgiven or forgotten. Exploiting this grievance, the Polish

Government over the past two years has launched bitter attacks on the Czechoslovak Government, mainly on the score of the small Polish minority in the Teschen district.

The Czechoslovak crisis of May 21 (when two Nazi Czechs were shot by a Czech sentry on the Sudeten border) brought into high relief the real attitude of Poland. Judging from her reactions to the events of that date, Poland's policy in case of war over Czechoslovakia will probably take the following form: (1) If Germany should attack Czechoslovakia, and France and Russia should remain aloof, Poland would join Germany and seek to win some spoils. (2) If France and Russia should come to Czechoslovakia's aid, Poland, in spite of her old alliance with France, would maintain neutrality. (3) Finally, if Britain should join France and Russia in a general war on Germany, only then would Poland honor her obligations to France and move against Germany. It is a hard-boiled policy.

In conversations with members of official circles last June, I found that this hard-boiled attitude has not softened by the incident of May 21. True, the Poles were surprised by the energy of Britain in that crisis though they profess to believe that Britain's attitude will prove transitory. They have no faith in the permanence of British interest in Eastern or Central Europe. They frankly advocate the break-up of Czechoslovakia. They claim that if Germany should receive the Sudeten area by peaceful settlement, Germany would be unable to dominate the rest. They insist that if Czechoslovakia remains intact, the Sudeten minority, aided by Hitler's threats, will exert so much influence on the Prague Government that it will in effect become a vassal of Germany. Better, then, they suggest, that Sudetenland be sliced off from Czechoslovakia to Poland. Lurking in the background of this attitude is the ambition to make Czechoslovakia a minor Slav power dependent on Poland. Possession of the coal of Teschen, so necessary to Czechoslovak industry, would assist such a process.

Never expressed in these calculations, but nevertheless inhabiting their minds like a nightmare, is the fear of German-Russian rapprochement. Poland is morbidly afraid of a deal between Hitler and Stalin. Such a deal might lead to the fourth and final partition of Poland.

THUS we see the shape of Poland's foreign policy or, rather, Beck's foreign policy. A vast gulf separates the ideas of Beck and the sentiments of the Polish people. It is not too much to say that the majority of Poles literate enough to follow politics are anti-German and pro-French. They also admire Britain and are inclined to follow Britain's lead. Toward Russia they remain almost solidly hostile. Toward Czechoslovakia they manifest a surface hostility stimulated by the Government.

There are other elements and individuals which oppose the Government's policy. Paderewski's misnamed Labor party, small but not without influence, belongs in this category. So does General Sikorsky, who although retired maintains important influence in army circles. In addition there is Professor Mikhalovitch, a leader of democratic elements in the Sejm, and army elements called the "Left Legionnaires." All these factions, together with the Polish Socialists and the Peasants party, have the makings of a "Popular Coalition." Liberals in Poland hope that such a combination may swing Poland internally back to a normal democratic regime and externally back to the old pro-French collective security front.

The situation appears promising for such a development. For one thing, the semi-Fascist "Camp of National Unity" has disappeared as a serious factor. It represented only the attempt on the part of leaders who enjoyed the fruits of power to gain the support of Fascist elements without giving them any of the fruits in return. Its leader, Colonel Adam Koc, has retired to deserved obscurity and its organization has faded away.

A new would-be leader, replacing the deflated Smigly-Rydz, has recently appeared on the Polish political horizon. He is Ignace Moscicki, president of the republic. Formerly regarded as a puppet president, he now looms as a potent leader of democratic forces. He is credited with bringing about the Government's belated efforts to frame a new election law which will get the Socialist and Peasant parties back into the Sejm. It is his influence which is supposed to have caused the Government to announce municipal and communal elections under free auspices.

The Government cannily spaced



these elections for different times between September and next spring, so as not to arouse public opinion in mass form. From the Government's point of view, the elections serve as a thermometer of public opinion and a safety valve for unrest. For the democratic opposition, the elections represent a golden opportunity to force a general election and unexpected victory.

Liberals think that the local elections may warn the Government to slow down on Colonel Beck's foreign policy. A mass upsurge expressed even in diluted form over several months may prove sufficiently strong to make Poland democratic.

It is a hope, however, which may prove forlorn. After all, Poland cannot change its geography. No matter what Government held office, the nation would remain vulnerable to German attack. A really strong military establishment cannot be created over night. Even democratic Polish leaders, with sympathy for the western democratic powers, may have to compromise with hard facts. It is significant that Moscicki, the democrat, is a convinced supporter of Colonel Beck's policy. A new and democratic Polish Government may ditch Colonel Beck, but it cannot afford to become the advance guard in a war against Germany.

The Prime Minister of Eire
Sends a Message to the League of Nations

Make Peace While There is Still Peace

By EAMON DE VALERA

TODAY the cynic is our teacher. He whispers to each of us, telling us that man in the long run is only a beast; that his duty is determined and his destiny ruled by selfishness and passion; that force is his weapon; that victory rests with the most brutal.

Yesterday, believing that war had been outlawed as an instrument of aggressive national policy, our thoughts were busy with the possibility of a Union of Europe. Today, before the mangled bodies of the youth of the Continent have yet been mercifully assimilated with the clay, before the anguished hearts of countless mothers have even had a respite, we await the result of an eleventh hour attempt to postpone the opening of a conflict which may set the peoples of the world mutilating and destroying each other again.

To be thrown into a position of enmity with those with whom we wish to be on terms of friendship (the Italian delegates), to have to oppose those whom we admire and would welcome an occasion to serve—what more heart-rending alternative can there be to the abandonment of duty and the betrayal of our deepest convictions and of our word solemnly given? That is the alternative before us, and that is the price we may be called upon to pay for that common security without which the peace we need can never be realized.

It is a hard price, but harder still and more terrible is the future in store for us if we should fail to be ready to pay it. The final test of the League and all that it stands for has come. Our conduct in this crisis will determine whether the League of Nations is worthy to survive, or whether it is better to let it lapse and disappear and be forgotten.

Make no mistake, if on any pretext whatever we were to permit the sovereignty of even the weakest state amongst us (Ethiopia) to be unjustly taken away, the whole foundation of the League would crumble into dust. If the pledge of security is not universal, if it is not to apply to all impartially, if there be picking and choosing, and jockeying and favoritism, if one aggressor is to be given a free hand while another is restrained then it is far better that the old system of alliance should return and that each nation should do what it can to prepare for its own defense. Without universality the League can be only a snare. If the Covenant is not observed as a whole, for all and by all, then there is no Covenant.

My own Irish nation has no imperialistic ambitions. Though a mother-country, we covet no colonies and have no dominions. Our sole claim is that the ancestral home of our people, unmistakably delimited by the ocean, should belong to us. We make no demands but those founded upon justice. We claim the right to order our own life in our own way, and to select our own governmental institutions without interference. And we are prepared to admit for all other nations in their respective territories the same right which we claim for ourselves in ours.

One of the oldest of the European nations, it is with feelings of intense joy that, after several centuries of attempted assimilation by a neighboring people, we in the

Irish Free State find ourselves restored again as a separate recognized member of the European family to which we belong. By our own choice, and without compulsion, we entered into the obligations of the Covenant. We shall fulfill these obligations in the letter and in the spirit. We have given our word and we shall keep it. For few nations will the test which may confront us tomorrow be more severe. May the good God keep this cup of bitterness from all of us.

WHY cannot the nations put into the enterprises of peace the energy they are prepared to squander in the futility and frightfulness of war? Yesterday, there were no finances to give the workless the opportunity of earning their bread; tomorrow, money unlimited will be found to provide for the manufacture of instruments of destruction.

Why can we not in the spirit of justice deal with the wrongs when we perceive them? Not every demand for change deserves to be listened to, it is true, but must we wait until the wronged has risen up in armed revolt before we grant him the redress to which we know he is entitled? Why, if the problems are economic, and if it is the fear of withholding essential raw materials that is causing alarm—why cannot these questions and their relation to colonial possessions be discussed now? Or will our conservatism, the natural philosophy of those who have and are concerned only to retain—will this conservatism deem the time ripe only when the slaughter has begun? Are adjustments never to be made but at the expense of the weak?

Why cannot the Peace Conference which will meet in Europe when the next conflict has decimated the nations, and disaster and exhaustion have tamed some of them into temporary submission—why cannot this conference be convened now, when calm reason might have a chance to bring the nations into friendly cooperation and a lasting association of mutual help?

Why can we not at least place this League of Nations on a stable foundation? Why can we not free the fundamental instrument of the League from its association with political arrangements which are universally recognized as unjust? Why can we not endeavor to forge an international instrument, not merely for settling international disputes when they arise, but for removing in advance the causes of those disputes?

The goodwill of the nations can in the last resort be depended upon for the fulfillment of the obligations into which they have freely entered. Will that goodwill not be all the more active and effective in guaranteeing collective security in which the legitimate national requirements of states are provided for, and their loyalty to the system thereby doubly assured?

Such goodwill would have given us the Protocol of Geneva ten years ago. But ten years ago there was no sense of impending calamity, no crisis, in the intensity of which we could be welded to a common purpose of self-preservation. Such a crisis is here now. God grant us the will and the wisdom to avail ourselves of it.

ITALY'S RECORD IN ETHIOPIA

By LEO ISAACS

TWO years ago Italy formally hoisted her colors over Ethiopia and told the world she had become an empire. What has happened to Il Duce's colony since then has been largely a matter of rumor and conjecture. With the gradual curtailment of news about Ethiopia, there have been unsupported stories of things accomplished that the Italians never conceived of doing, of failures in matters they have not yet approached, and reports of triumphant accomplishment in fields that have met with only partial success. But somewhere between the strutting pride of the Italian administration and the sharp rancor of the Ethiopian interests in Jibuti lie the facts—facts that are significant because they involve the construction of a new empire.

The facts show that the conquest of Ethiopia is far from complete. Violent fighting is still going on—most of it centered in Amhara, where pitched battles and aerial bombardments have taken place at Debra Sinna, Biala, and a village almost appropriately called New Chicago. Within forty miles of Addis Ababa, large groups of *shiftas*, members of the former Amharic ruling class, continue to sally out at unexpected moments, attacking not only Italians and their families, but chieftains and natives who are carrying out the gospel of imperial fascism.

The first important step made by the Italian conquerors was to unify the fifteen Ethiopian provinces—Amhara, Wollega, Gojjam, and the rest—into a system of five governments, including the already existing colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. To Eritrea were added parts of Tigre and the Danakil; the boundaries of Somaliland were extended to include the

southern province of Ogaden, and the remaining provinces were consolidated to form Amhara, Harar, and Galla-Sidamo, with an administrative nucleus in Addis Ababa. Officially the original provinces no longer exist, with the exception of those included in the forty-six new commissariats, each of which is under the supervision of an Italian resident.

The administration of a new colony composed of several different ethnic groups and religions, among most of which still smolder the animosities of centuries, naturally requires a strict system of regulation from the very outset. The Italian idea was to definitely confine the chief races of Ethiopia within their original geographical

limits in order to end the rivalry among the different peoples and to simplify the problem of ruling a diverse population.

Whether the administration is making a favorite child of the Moslem population is best judged by considering the development of Harar as a Moslem center for all of East Africa. Not only are new mosques being built in the important towns, but a Moslem college is to be constructed in the capital city of Harar. Throughout this government, the teaching of Arabic is compulsory, though the provision also extends to Somaliland and Galla-Sidamo; and while the Italians argue that this ruling is merely a logical step in their attempt to set up majority au-



Driving force behind the conquest of Ethiopia, Mussolini has even laid out the roads.

tonomies, it is not the logic of conquerors.

The logic demonstrated here is that of a growing power that recognizes the potential value of courting Africa's 44,000,000 Mohammedans, and the immediate value of providing a new colony with cheap Moslem labor. It is pertinent to note that more than half of the native laborers in the colony are either Negro Moslems from the Sudan or Hadramaut Arabs lured across the Red Sea by the hope of a Moslem autonomy in Harar.

TO DETERMINE the extent of native resistance to the new government, it is necessary to go to the official reports of the Italian army published in the military journals, for the civilian press appears aware of nothing but the liberation and enlightenment of the Ethiopian masses. Beside the Amhara engagements, which cost at least three hundred Italian lives, the former province of Shoa, including the commissariat of Cercer, remains stubbornly unpacified. Debra Brehan, Zuqual, and other villages have been attacked by the *shiftas*, whose chief strongholds appear to be in the Cercer mountains, which extend into Harar, and the Gudru section just outside the boundaries of the Addis Ababa administrative district.

These "brigands" are led by either rebel chieftains or those cadets of the military college at Oletta who managed to escape exile to Libya, where many were conscripted into Askari regiments. A good part of the activity of the *shiftas* seems to be wholly defensive, since in many quarters they are considered fair game by chieftains friendly to the administration, who receive an annual grant of 225,000 lire and the right to bear arms provided they are used "judiciously." For the "incorrigibles" now being cheviated throughout western Ethiopia is reserved the extreme penalty already paid by Ras Demtu Desta and Dedjiac Hailu Chebbede.

The questionable use to which Italian aviation was put during General Gelso's violent subjugation of Sidamo has been mitigated to some degree by the recent achievements of commercial aviation in the colony. Ala Littoria, for example, runs seven planes a week between Rome and Addis Ababa, covering Benghazi, Cairo, Wadi Halfa, Cassala, and Asmara in seventy hours. Two types of planes are used on the

Has Italy finally put down all native resistance to the Ethiopian conquest?

What has Italy done to win over Moslem support for its rule?

Does Ethiopia really have great mineral resources?

What is Italy doing to develop Ethiopian agriculture?

How many Italians now live in Ethiopia?

These questions are answered in the accompanying article.

"Linea dell 'Impero" — Savoia - Marchetti S.173's for land flying, and trimotored Cantieri-Zappata hydroplanes for the Mediterranean leg. Air service on internal routes has also been considerably advanced, with Asmara as a terminus for lines extending to Assab, Dire Dawa, and Addis Ababa, and to Mogadiscio by way of Gorraheh and Belet Uen.

According to the Italian *Official Gazette*, the actual military campaign prior to occupation cost 12 billion lire (\$620,000,000), to which must be added the appropriations decided upon last year. These include an additional 12 billion lire to be spent on public works over a six-year period; a three-year plan for road-building involving 3 billion lire, and an appropriation of one billion lire annually for administrative and other expenses. In other words, the probable total expenditure at the end of the present fiscal year was nearly one billion dollars, which means a deficit of approximately \$375,000,000 for the Italian government.

RADICAL, if not drastic measures have been undertaken to liquidate this deficit and otherwise defray the immense outlay of capital in building up the empire. A recent step was the formation of a group of colonial monopolies with a potential capitalization of four billion lire, of which the most important is the Azienda Mineraria Africa Orientale. Organized to put mining in Uollega and Harrar on a commercial basis, this corporation is of special significance, since 49 per cent of its stock is in German hands. The fact that Italy has reserved the right to buy up these shares in 1942 gives reason to question the astuteness of German participation in this ven-

ture, for it is not likely that the corporation will realize a profit for many years to come.

The abolition of barter on July 2, 1936, introduced a new system which has had profound effects upon economic life in Ethiopia. Native holdings of silver thalers have slowly been absorbed. Ethiopians are now required to work on roads at one-ninth the wage paid to Italians for identical labor. The prices of staple commodities have been raised far beyond the natives' purchasing power. With cash required for all commercial transactions, and their ability to acquire it limited, most Ethiopians stubbornly refuse to sell, buy, or work beyond their meagre requirements. The Italian answer has been to characterize them as slothful and to encourage Moslem immigration.

The plan to construct an effective system of permanent roads was the first part of the administration's development program, and has progressed quite creditably. The five main roads, totalling about two thousand miles, were presumably laid out by Mussolini (*il piano Mussoliniana*) and are close to completion. These routes have been designed either to connect future agricultural regions with the larger villages, or to provide outlets for the interior to the five main ports of the colony.

Adding to the unbelievably heavy truck traffic on the road from Massaua to Addis Ababa is a fleet of four new Alfa-Romeo buses, which provides a kind of transportation that is fraught with many of the thrills and discomforts of Wells Fargo days. While these 28-passenger vehicles are of the latest type, the congestion along the route, combined with frequent stretches of only partially paved roads, necessitate a schedule of five days for a distance American buses cover in thirty-six hours. The actual driving time, however, is 51½ hours, the remainder being devoted to nightly stopovers, since travel after dark in Ethiopia still presents unpleasant possibilities. Fares are relatively moderate, \$32 being the minimum tariff, with an additional charge of about 25c a pound for all luggage in excess of three pounds.

The greatest misapprehension about Ethiopia has involved her mineral resources, which have been generally described as fabulous and prolific beyond estimate. These assumptions

originated first in Italian propaganda circles, where they were intended to impress the public and make its sacrifices seem more worth while. Later they blossomed forth in the dispatches of various correspondents who felt that a few exaggerations gave their reports a note of authority. During the first months of the campaign, the world was told that the impetus behind Italy's armies was an inexhaustible supply of oil and gold somewhere in Ethiopia. On this conception was built a wholly misleading inventory of Ethiopia's mineral resources.

Italian interest in Ethiopian oil was whetted in 1923, when the Anglo-American Oil Company wangled a fifty-year concession on about 650 square miles along the Gahatali in Harar. From that time on, Ethiopia's "oil fields" became more and more a certainty, though no oil was ever extracted from the Gahatali River district, and, up to the present, none from anywhere else in Ethiopia. It is true that there are certain seepage areas in the Danakil, but during the thirty years since they were verified by Baron Franchetti and Prof. Annarantone, no commercial importance has been attached to them. In fact, while similar deposits cover a much larger area in British Somaliland, most of the oil extracted there has been by natives for their own use.

The output of gold in Italian East Africa seems reasonably impressive until it is realized that the production figures include certain Eritrean mines that have been yielding gold for Italy since before the World War. Like almost anything else in the colony, gold production can be expected to increase when conditions have become more settled, but even with this allowance, the output will not exceed \$3,000,000 a year. Of this maximum, little more than a third will consist of Ethiopia's fabled gold—a mere drop in the huge bucket which Italy uses as a measuring-can for colonial expenses.

More vital, perhaps, to Italy's needs than either oil or gold is iron—and here again, known deposits in Eritrea are being publicized to cover the suspected deficiency of that mineral in Ethiopia itself. There are possibilities, of course, just as there would be in any spot chosen at random on a map of the world, but only a few of these localities within Ethiopia will be tested by geologists. Certain districts in Amhara, including the country between Entotto and Ancober,

the vicinity of Debra Marcos, and in the extreme north, may yield some iron, but it is not likely that mining in Ethiopia will precede operations in Eritrea. Not only are the Eritrean fields more promising, but they are supplemented by considerable deposits of manganese, which is indispensable in the manufacture of steel. Considering the rapid growth of Asmara, Agordat, and other towns in Eritrea, it is entirely reasonable to expect one of them to become, in time, a steel manufacturing center for the colony.



"The conquest of Ethiopia is far from complete . . . The probable total military expenditure at the end of the present fiscal year will be nearly one billion dollars."

As things now stand, Ethiopia is producing only two minerals in commercial quantities—gold and platinum. Most of the platinum is mined in the old Hartel and Prasso concessions in Uollega, and while prospecting is still being conducted in the Meccia region south of Lake Tana, production is not expected to materially exceed the 190 kilograms mined last year.

Other mineral deposits have been located, including copper, carbon, chloride of potash, coal, and marble, but their value en masses is negligible. The copper zone in Ghimirra requires military rather than geological expeditions; the coal veins of northern Amhara are scattered and inaccessible; the deposits of carbon near Addis Ababa are not considered large enough for commercialization; chloride of potash is too cheap to warrant extensive operations in the seething Danakil depression, and marble is the

one mineral resource Italy need not complain of lacking.

THE agricultural possibilities of Ethiopia are an enviable asset, even though Italy will not be able to draw upon them fully for several years. But whether the immense sections of arable land are put to cultivation next year or a decade from now, it is certain that the colony will eventually supply Italy with enough cotton, wheat, meat, and coffee to provide an important export trade in these com-

modities, as well as meet the demands of home consumption.

Following the system now prevailing in Eritrea and Somaliland, at least 75 per cent of the cotton, coffee, flax, and bananas will be plantation grown, which again raises the question of native labor, since the employment of Italians as farm workers is forbidden. While four-fifths of the present Eritrean acreage is operated by nine concessions, leaving the remaining fifth for 106 privately-owned plantations, it is not expected that this discrepancy will be as marked in Ethiopian agriculture, since large sections are being reserved solely for farms.

Despite the publicity given the colonization movement, the actual number of new farmers does not exceed 2,500, though the Italian population of the colony has now reached 335,000. Emigration on a wide basis was scheduled to start at the end of the rainy season last Fall, but while many thou-

sands of land-poor Italian peasants were ready to sail for Africa, a good part of the fertile areas chosen for settlement are being sowed with nothing but bombs. Once the safety of the colonists has been assured, the extremely fertile Uorhera and Beghemeder country will be open to about 25,000 farmers, each of whom will receive ninety acres of land after meeting the stipulations of a one-year probationary period.

The chief crop of the colonist-farmer will be grain—either wheat, barley, or oats, or the several valuable native grains, which include taff, daghusa, and dhurra. The latter two grains are extensively used in the production of grain alcohol and have attracted the attention of a syndicate, one of the number mentioned earlier, which will adapt them to the manufacture of beer.

Despite the fact that an area three times the size of Kansas may be suitably put to wheat, last year's crops were not impressive, largely because of the desultory manner in which native farmers plant and harvest their grain. The total crop did not reach two million bushels, averaging only eight bushels to the acre; but it is very likely that within five years the black-soiled grain fields of western Ethiopia will produce over one hundred million bushels of wheat, though this depends directly on a steady increase of farm allotments. American wheat-farmers will agree that thirteen bushels to an acre indicates good grain country, and that yield has already been attained on experimental farms.

Another promising product is cotton, which will be grown in northern Amhara, close to existing Eritrean fields, and in the Goba, Sidamo, and Ciamo commissariats of Galla-Sidamo. Most of the cultivation will be controlled by the Ethiopian Cotton Company, allowing the small farmer to concentrate on grains, oranges, various vegetables, and olives, which already grow wild in the Alcerun Plain region of Uolla. Stock-raising will also be carried out by individual farmers, though here again, the initial impetus in raw hides, dairy products, and meat have come from three new corporations.

Ethiopia's important harbors include Massaua and Assab, on the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean ports of Mogadiscio, Merca, and Chismaio, all

of which are now being provided with new shipping facilities. Until these improvements are completed, Jibuti will continue to handle a large proportion of the freight entering Ethiopia, although the docks there have already been taxed to nearly twice their normal quota of 7,000 tons a month.

Massaua, with imports totalling 45,000 tons a month, underwent improvements in 1935 and is now being provided with six hundred yards of new piers, of which about half are already completed. The new docks, which will accomodate vessels drawing up to twenty-five feet of water, together with two 2½-ton cranes and a small electric station for their operation, will involve the expense of \$425,000. Even more extensive will be the development of Assab, which, while situated on a natural bay, has not been greatly exploited in the past. The construction of two 700-foot piers with lighterage facilities, and a breakwater half a mile in length will be completed in 1941. Maritime experts consider the \$3,500,000 outlay for these improvements a good investment, especially since their scope indicates that Assab may be used as a naval base.

INTERNATIONAL recognition of Italy's conquest rests not so much on her organization of the new colony, but rather on England's great wish to avert a permanent Italian occupation of Spain. It was on this basis that England, six days before Lord Perth signed the Anglo-Italian agreement last April, suggested that the League Council definitely decide Ethiopia's status, knowing that there could be little conjecture as to the outcome.

The Council's decision to leave the recognition issue up to the individual League members did not entirely follow the Perth-Ciano pattern and, from a certain perspective, involved the League's future more than it did Ethiopia's. Theoretically, Ethiopia's position as a sovereign state may be stronger than it was before the Council session, since her status as a League member remains unchanged. She may still seat a delegate when the Assembly convenes in September, and obstruct collective recognition action by arguing that the non-recognition resolution could not have been lifted, even by a majority of Council members, without flatly violating Article X of the Covenant.

But if a final solution of the Ethiopian question has been deferred, the gradual decline of the League has been hastened, unless it is to function solely for the confirmation of pacts contradicting its own purpose of collective security. On the Assembly's agenda are problems created by the situations in Spain, China, and possibly Czechoslovakia, none of which can rely on established guarantees if Ethiopia's membership is nullified. This will, undoubtedly, be accomplished as a "convenient" policy, since the practical purpose of placating Italy is far more vital to the League than an idealistic defense of Ethiopia, but in any sense the opportunistic trend of League action signifies a loss immeasurably greater than Haile Selassie's crown.

Considering the many motives behind the Anglo-Italian pact, it is not surprising to discover that the three annexes concerning Ethiopia are merely diplomatic levers used to raise the issue of *de jure* recognition, rather than provisions directly concerning the colony. The Lake Tana question, the importance of which has always been exaggerated so that England might reserve it is an instrument for bargaining, remains where it was when the Italian troops were still in the field. The stipulation confining Ethiopian troops within the colony is similarly pointless, since England's only ground for apprehension is the use of these troops in a war with Italy, which would, of course, nullify the treaty.

Much of the British criticism of Italy's colonial policy, now discreetly subdued, arose from a persistent uneasiness on Italy's flirtation with the pan-Islamic movement, especially since it has begun to influence British native subjects in Ethiopia. Yet Italy's assurance of religious freedom in the colony in no way alters the significance of her pro-Moslem tendencies, nor, in fact, makes any commitments beyond those already stated in the decree-law of June, 1936.

What will happen a few years from now, when Italy emerges as a practically self-sufficient power, able to capitalize on a new source of native troops and a close alliance with Mohammedan elements? It is a question that the Sphinx itself might propound—and it is toward the Sphinx that many of Ethiopia's new roads so enigmatically point.

IT HAPPENED IN HARLAN

Uncle Sam's first big test of his new Labor Act
ends in stalemate in Kentucky's "feud county"

By I. F. STONE

THE most fervent advocate of laissez-faire could hardly regard Bloody Harlan with equanimity. The eleven-week trial of 55 defendant Harlan corporations, coal operators and former deputy sheriffs for conspiring to deprive labor of its rights under the Wagner Act ended in a deadlock; but the deadlock is only a little less disturbing than a conviction would have been to those who would like the nation to forget what has been occurring on the western slope of the Cumberlandlands.

Brien McMahon, the assistant attorney-general in charge of the prosecution, is not a man easily discouraged. When the jury of mountain men, mostly farmers, walked into the courtroom at London, Kentucky, on August 1 and announced that it was hopelessly split, McMahon asked, and Federal Judge H. Church Ford granted the right to move for a retrial when the next term of court reopens at Lexington, Kentucky, on September 17. The three months of trial, it was estimated, had cost the government more than \$300,000, but it was prepared to have the 500 witnesses put back on the stand and their 2,000,000 words of testimony repeated rather than admit defeat.

The New Deal has been a trying period for Harlan's coal operators. The La Follette committee's hearings spread their methods of dealing with unionism across the record. The National Labor Relations Board in part on the basis of the committee's revelations, has tried two Harlan coal companies on charges of violating the Wagner Act and found both guilty. Finally, after an inquiry by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Department of Justice stepped in to make Harlan the scene of a legal experiment that may have a nation-wide consequence—revival of the Civil Rights Act of 1870 as a means of obtaining criminal prose-

cution of employers charged with infringing on labor's right to organize and bargain collectively.

What the Supreme Court's attitude toward revival of the act will be rests in the lap of five justices. To conservative Southerners, with a sense of historical perspective, the use of the Civil Rights Act will seem the second effort made by the North through the instrumentality of this statute to force its own ways and standards on the South; to the underprivileged, white or black, it will seem the second attempt to force what may not unfairly be termed the South's ruling class to obey Federal law. The act was passed to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment and it provides that "if two or more persons shall band or conspire together, or go in disguise upon the public highway . . . with intent to violate any provision of this Act, or to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise and enjoyment of any right or privilege granted or secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having exercised the same, such persons shall be guilty of felony, and, on conviction thereof, shall be fined or imprisoned or both, at the discretion of the court—the fine not to exceed \$5,000, and imprisonment not to exceed ten years."

This act was aimed at the Klan. Now an effort is being made to use it against the company deputy. The law was also intended to protect the newly-enfranchised Negro in the rights conferred on him by Congress. It is now sought to use it to protect white worker and black in the "free exercise and enjoyment" of the right to collective bargaining guaranteed by the Wagner Act.

The provisions on which the Harlan conspiracy prosecution rests were declared unconstitutional by the Su-

preme court in one of the series of cases between 1875 and 1883 in which the Justices, though not without strong dissents, emasculated the Fourteenth Amendment insofar as protection of personal liberties is concerned. The case for the majority rested upon literalism. The Amendment says that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." While skilfully narrowing "privileges and immunities" until they were almost meaningless, the majority of the Court held that the amendment merely protected against State action and not against the action of individuals, and that the Federal Government could not punish ordinary individuals for conspiring to deprive another of his rights under Federal law. That holding would rule out the present action for conspiracy to deprive miners of the rights granted them by a Federal law, the Wagner Act.

But the present court, now in the honeymoon phase of its relations with the New Deal, might be more inclined to agree with Mr. Justice Harlan's vigorous dissent in the Civil Rights Cases of 1883. Mr. Justice Harlan, himself a representative of the frontier spirit which still lingers on in the Kentucky county whose name he bore, said: "I cannot resist the conclusion that the substance and spirit of the recent amendments to the Constitution have been sacrificed by a subtle and ingenious verbal criticism . . . Constitutional provisions, adopted in the interest of liberty, and for the purpose of securing, through national legislation, if need be, rights inhering in a state of freedom, and belonging to American citizenship, have been so construed as

to defeat the ends the people desired to accomplish."

Mr. Justice Harlan harked back to the Federal Fugitive Slave law that protected the interests of the slave-owner against interference by "States Rights" and went on, "I insist that the National Legislature may, without transcending the limits of the Constitution, do for human liberty and the fundamental rights of American citizenship, what it did, with the sanction of this court, for the protection of slavery and the rights of the masters of fugitive slaves." The Supreme Court may feel the same way about the power of the Federal government to protect the rights of workers to bargain collectively and to organize free from interference by their employers.

THERE was a time when the coal operators of Harlan County had no worries of this kind. Their suppression of labor unrest in 1931 is the source of the term, "Bloody Harlan," and the ineffectiveness of the famous Dreiser-Dos Passos investigation in that year is a far cry from unrelenting pressure of inquiry and prosecution by the Government this year. In February, 1931, the announcement of a ten per cent pay cut was followed by spontaneous strikes. Miners marched from coal town to coal town "for the speakin'." The attempt of the United Mine Workers of America to organize the county culminated in a pitched battle in the streets of Evarts, Kentucky, between deputy sheriffs and union miners in which five men were killed, three of them deputies. The U. M. W. A. withdrew after the battle and the Communists came in; John L. Lewis was the object of savage attack by the radicals for failing to give the Harlan miners more support. There were mass meetings in New York City to hear the reports of the Dreiser-Dos Passos committee, protests were drawn up and money collected for relief. But the operators were undeterred. By autumn of 1931, twelve miners had been killed, two reporters had been shot, a relief kitchen set up for the strikers had been dynamited, charges of criminal syndicalism had been filed against several small town police officials and business men who sympathized with the strikers. Unionism in Harlan was crushed.

Seven union leaders were sentenced to jail for life as a result of the Battle

of Evarts and, though Governor Ruby Laffoon pardoned three of them, four are still in jail, almost forgotten in a period prolific in causes celebres. Who would have dreamt that within the space of a few years the United Mine Workers of America would have an office of its own in Harlan and succeed in negotiating contracts with ten of the forty-two mines in the county? In the first years of the New Deal, Harlan was still open-shop country and the U. M. W. A. was once forced to use an airplane from which it dropped leaflets on the miners of the county. On one of the first occasions that union organizers made an appearance in Harlan they were routed from their beds by tear gas and their cars dynamited.

The union found its earliest friend of the New Deal period in Governor Laffoon, Adjutant General Henry H. Denhardt and Elmon C. Middleton, Harlan County attorney. In 1935 General Denhardt reported to the Governor that a "reign of terror" was in effect against the union in Harlan County and the governor sent in National Guardsmen to protect union organizers. High Sheriff Theodore R. Middleton, one of the defendants in this year's conspiracy trial whose removal from office General Denhardt recommended, led the fight against the use of guardsmen to safeguard organizers. Elmon C. Middleton, his cousin, who aided the National Guard was blown to pieces in his automobile in September, 1935. Seventeen unexploded sticks of dynamite were found in the wreckage of the car.

The Middletons appear and reappear in the records of the La Follette committee hearings which first called attention on a large scale to Harlan lawlessness. Sheriff Middleton testified that he received more than \$100,000 in unreported income in his three years in office. His salary was \$5,000 a year, and the contrast between salary and earnings rivals that of New York City's notorious Sheriff "Tin Box" Farley. At least four of Middleton's cousins were deputy sheriffs and each of them had been indicted at least once for murder. The La Follette committee presented voluminous proofs of the lawlessness of Harlan's constituted forces of law and order, most of them paid by the coal companies. One of the documents placed in evidence by the committee was an order of the Harlan circuit court allowing a

change of venue in the murder case of Kentucky vs. John Middleton "because it is personally known to the Judge of this Judicial district that for several years last past, there has been more crime in Harlan County than any county in the State of Kentucky, that there has been almost a total disregard of the law, and of the life and liberty of the people, and there now exist more than 800 Commonwealth cases on the dockets of the Harlan Circuit Court, many of the charges being against the Middleton family, which is one of the largest families in Harlan County, and a great deal of intimidation of witnesses, and even killing of witnesses have taken place in this county, local jurymen are afraid to do their duty." Exhibit 1224 in the committee's records give one an idea of the quality of Harlan's deputy sheriffs. It is a list of those who have been convicted and served time in the Frankfort Reformatory:

Lee Ball	Manslaughter
Allen Bowlin.....	Manslaughter
John Brewer.....	Malicious shooting and Wounding with Intent to Kill
Lincoln Burke	Manslaughter
Marion Carmichael.....	Manslaughter
Henry Collins.....	Manslaughter
Howard Creech	Storehouse Breaking
Ase Cusick.....	Manslaughter
Robert Eldredge.....	Manslaughter
Lee Fleenor	Murder and Voluntary Manslaughter
Milburn Hall.....	Grand Larceny
Harion Hall.....	Manslaughter
Robert Helton.....	Incest
Jim Howard.....	Shooting and Wounding
Scott Howard.....	Grand Larceny
Wash Irwin.....	Robbery
Curtis Jett.....	Murder
Jess Johnson.....	Malicious Shooting
Earl Jones.....	Storehouse Breaking
Ed Moss Jones.....	Manslaughter
Paul Jones.....	Breaking into R. R. Car
Roscoe Kelly.....	Manslaughter
Logan Lewis.....	Housebreaking
Dewey McGeorge.....	Storehouse Breaking
Tom Middleton.....	Murder
Arthur Moore.....	Manslaughter
Jim Pace.....	Grand Larceny
John Short.....	Malicious Shooting with Intent to Kill
Willard Wilder.....	Malicious Shooting and Murder

THE character of the forces of law and order makes it easier to understand the lawless setting of the trial. Two witnesses were killed and a third kidnapped during the pro-

ceedings; the home of another was dynamited. Witnesses reported intimidation and bribery. The deputies who went "thuggin'" for union organizers, the woman who said she was offered \$100 a head to lure union men into the woods, the use of "strip tease" shows to draw men from union meetings, the miner owner who said his men voted 267 to 5 to quit the union and then admitted that the "secret vote" consisted in having each man step up and sign his name to the ballot he cast—all fit into the picture of a community in which frontier customs and mores have been put at the service of huge mining interests determined to have as little as possible to do with labor unions.

Only nine per cent of Harlan's population is Negro and only 1.3 per cent foreign born and Harlan prides itself on old "Anglo-Saxon stock," presumably too rugged individualist for unionization. But by a paradox that has not escaped attention, these rugged individualists are shown to live lives as completely dominated by the companies as those of Europeans living under totalitarian regimes.

Exploitation was extreme. One operator admitted that he deducted \$1,800 to \$2,400 monthly from the pay of his men for doctor service but that all he paid out was \$700 to two doctors in Harlan. Another operator testified that he paid 20 per cent of his wages in scrip redeemable at his company store from which he received annual dividends amounting to 170 per cent on his investment. Anglo-Saxons haven't been treated so shabbily since Alfred was scolded for letting the cakes burn.

Harlan violence must be interpreted in the light of Harlan tradition. Feud country, with a record of 60 murders last year, Harlan has an attitude toward shooting that is not the same as that of New York or Chicago. These were no helpless moujiks being shot down by Cossacks. Two witnesses at the trial gave one a glimpse of how different the mountain mores are from our own. Lloyd Clouse was called out of a saloon and shot to death four days after he became a volunteer organizer for the U. M. W. A. His son testified that he saw a crowd around the saloon that night. Pressing forward to see what had happened, he found his father dead in a pool of blood. The boy's greatest concern was to recover the dead man's gun,

which he took home to his mother. The widow's first impulse was to count the number of cartridges in the gun.

The Rev. Marshall Musick, a lean country preacher who rides circuit over the mountains of Kentucky and Tennessee to tend his four churches, began—like so many other preachers in that poverty-stricken section of the county—to mix unionism with religion. One Sunday afternoon, on his way home from a call with his wife, Musick was fired on. Two neigh-

the attacking party and one of the defendants in this trial was himself shot to death in July. His killing may have had no connection with his record of bloodshed in dealing with union men, but no one would be surprised if it did.

It would be equally mistaken, however, to assume that the conditions revealed in Harlan are exceptional and altogether peculiar to that section of the country. Espionage and the blacklist and the company-paid deputy are familiar evils. The company town



Jurors in the Harlan conspiracy trial receive their pay checks after the eleven-week hearing ended in a "mistrial."

bors were able to identify the would-be assassins. The reasons they were able to do so is one that would be encountered nowhere else. They heard the shots; the shots started an argument between them as to the calibre of the bullets used; to settle the dispute they went over a nearby hill to the scene of the shooting to investigate. Later they called at the minister's home "to see whether he'd been hurt."

The miners can handle their guns as well as deputies, as the score in the Battle of Evarts indicates. Violence is not confined to one side, nor is it used only by one side against the other. A coal company which had a contract with the U. M. W. A. succeeded in having the indictment against it nolle prossed. Its offices and mine were swept by a \$500,000 fire. A volley fired into the Musick home one night killed Musick's 19-year-old son, Bennett; a deputy identified as one of

and the company store are usually attended by the same evils of miniature dictatorship and exorbitant pricing that one encounters in the records of Harlan. The absentee owners, U. S. Steel, International Harvester, Ford, Aluminum Company and Peabody, whom one encounters in Harlan, have been the object of similar criticism for similar evils in other parts of the country.

One thing is certain: whatever the outcome of the new trial, whatever the immediate future may hold, Harlan is changing for the better. The constant glare of publicity has served to send some of her worst "law and order" officials scurrying for cover. The rights of labor are slowly winning recognition. Harlan's coal operators are beginning to learn, though only a minority as yet shows it, that one can find a better basis for labor relations than the employment of thugs as deputies.

JAPAN TIPTOES AROUND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

By CARLETON BEALS

SOME years ago I walked along the rattly board veranda of the U. S. Army's administration building in Ancon, Canal Zone, for a lively chat with the major in charge of intelligence service there. His office, I discovered, was a clearing house for fact and rumor from all Latin America. From it he kept track of the undercover work going on in the Zone and in adjacent Panama, where, he claimed, nearly every nation on earth had men sleuthing about. He himself saw a Japanese spy under every China-berry bush. Nine out of ten Japanese residents in Colon and Panama City, he told me, were secret agents of their home government.

Most of the Japanese who excited his fears are, I suspect, merely hard-working fishermen dutifully bringing home the herrings to the little woman and the tiny slant-eyes. But the fact remains that the Japanese have, on occasion, used the fishing industry to gain valuable information about the islands, coasts, and harbors of Latin America, and in that way have built up a large corps of young officers familiar with all the ins-and-outs of the southern shoreline.

Moreover, they now have almost a monopoly of fishing off most of the long Pacific coast of Mexico. Two Japanese sit with the Mexican fisheries commission. Large Japanese fishing fleets operate off Central America, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. Recently Ecuador refused to grant the Japanese fisheries rights off Galapagos Islands, southwest of the Panama Canal.

Overpopulated Japan has sent many hardy sons to Latin America as permanent residents. Only in Mexico and Cuba are there more Americans than Japanese, and even there our advantage is not great. In all Latin America there are probably 350,000 Japanese.

Mexico has a strict exclusion act, yet through bribery they continue to trickle in. There are numerous Japanese in Central America, still more in Panama. Throughout the Carib-

Are there more Japanese than North Americans in South America?

Where does "Made in USA" mean "Made in Japan"?

Has the invasion of China hurt Japan's prestige in Latin America?

Upon what basis do the Japanese claim racial kinship to South Americans?

To what extent has Japan captured our South American cotton goods market?

These questions are answered in the accompanying article.

bean area you will find them fishing, cutting hair, running restaurants, stores and estates. There are not many in Venezuela, quite a few in Colombia and Ecuador.

In Peru they are of real importance. The official count of 22,600 there makes them half the total of all aliens. However, as they have not been required to register with the authorities (as are Americans, Englishmen, Germans and other lesser breeds) they actually total, according to competent observers, at least 60,000 as compared to 1298 Americans.

The 1934 Brazilian constitution excludes Orientals, but the provision never has been seriously enforced. Japanese in Brazil now exceed 200,000. Good-sized colonies are also found in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and particularly Paraguay.

JAPANESE settle in highly strategic zones. In Mexico they cultivate large areas in Lower California, Sonora, Michoacan, and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. A Japanese friend of mine, a dentist, has made a good living in Tehuantepec.

In Peru they own all the waterfront and land adjacent to Chimbote, the best harbor, though undeveloped, south of the Canal Zone. They have leased level cotton lands in Costa Rica and own level acres in the rich Cauca Valley of Colombia—both but two hours flying time from the Canal Zone.

Japanese immigrants, competent, in-

dustrious, frugal, loyal to each other, as a rule rise rapidly, in any case get into some independent activity. Japanese barbers infest Panama City. There is hardly a town in all Peru, however remote in the Andes or the jungles, where the barber is not Japanese. They are also great tailors, their establishments sprinkled from Mexico City to Buenos Aires. In Lima, Peru, they dominate much of the retail trade. Few outlying towns are without a Japanese store. In some coast towns only Japanese is spoken.

Particularly adept at agriculture, they have acquired large estates. In Mexico and Central America they are the proprietors of rice, sugar and coffee plantations. In the coast provinces of Peru they own fine rice, cotton, sugar and cattle estates; and they trade and farm clear up into the Andes and in the farthest jungle reaches of the headwaters of the Amazon. All told, they are a highly civilizing influence.

In Brazil they own large rubber plantations, many of them gained through liberal state concessions, as well as rice, sugar, banana and coffee estates. Largely through Japanese initiative, Brazilian cotton growing has increased by leaps and bounds. In 1932, Brazil grew only a few hundred thousand bales. This year the export probably will total more than 2,000,000 bales, from 5,000,000 cultivated acres. To them also is due credit for the fact that Brazil promises soon to become a great tea and silk exporting country.

ALL these activities provide a firm base for trade expansion. Though the Japanese have banks only in Brazil and credit agencies in but a few other countries, they make up for this by financing through Japanese chambers of commerce, which have sprung up in all good sized centers.

Fleets of Japanese passenger and freight steamers ply both coasts of South America. The crews work for a few yen a month, sleep on mats, are content with a little rice and fish. Each vessel carries an overly large of-

ficer personnel, with many titles and assistants; young fellows, eager to learn, work for a few dollars a month so long as they can have a badge. Such officer experience also counts for promotion in the Imperial Japanese Navy.

As a result of this cheap labor, Japanese boats cut heavily into the freight trade, even to American ports. When a few years ago the Grace Line made considerable effort to develop the vegetable-ivory traffic, the Japanese promptly handled it for a third less.

More recently Japanese have gone in for engineering projects, bidding on public works, dams, city water supplies, and harbor improvements. Japanese capital is drifting more and more into cattle and sheep ranches, meat packing plants, textile mills, mining and oil properties.

THE Japanese are clever at imitating preferred native goods, textile patterns and weaves, as well as French, German, English and American products. Many a Lima or Buenos Aires girl shows off her silk stockings and undies, which she brags of having bought at swank French shops, when in reality she got them at a Japanese store. Mickey Mouse went south to Rio and Santiago on glassware, crockery and toys. Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs already have traveled to Tokyo and back south in new designs on goods. A town in Japan, rebaptized Usa, permits the Japanese to print on their wares, "Made in USA," without violating trade laws.

The low cost of products made in Japan permits its merchants to tap markets never before reached by European and American goods, and to sell to large masses of the underpaid population. This low cost is made possible by devaluated currency, state subsidies, small overhead, low shipping costs and cheap labor. Practically all exports are handled by a government aided agency: The Japanese Central and South American Export Association. Distribution costs are thus reduced, sales propaganda unified, fewer agents required. A network of Japanese stores provides immediate wholesale and retail outlets.

As a member of the League of Nations, Japan steadfastly refused to adopt the Geneva labor codes. In the United States, textile manufacturing is one of our worst paid industries, the average weekly wage last year being



\$13.60. But in Japan, girl operators receive only \$1.32 a week for 51 hours work, besides lodging and medical care. The 32 cents are deducted for food.

The Cotton Spinners' Association controls 97 per cent of all spindles, regulates production, prices, contracts, working conditions which border on serfdom. Today Japan ranks third in the world in the number of spindles, second in the amount of cotton used, first in the quantity of cloth exported.

IN 1931, a bad trade year for us, the United States sent to Latin America 123,000,000 square yards of cloth; while Japan sent only 13,200,000. By 1935, a much better trade year for us, the United States' sales totalled only

81,300,000 square yards; Japan's, 177,400,000. In other words, in four years, Japan's cotton goods sales to Latin America showed almost 1300 per cent gain, while those of the United States declined nearly 35 per cent. In the past Japan bought her raw cotton mostly from us; now she gets the bulk from India, Peru and Brazil. Thus we are being dealt a double blow.

Japanese trade treaties have been made with all Latin-American countries, often on a barter basis. By coffee purchases, Japan bought Salvador's retirement from the League of Nations and recognition of Manchukuo. In Latin America, Japan, like Germany, has been buying far more coffee than she needs and reselling it in the world market.

In sales to Costa Rica last year Japan went into third place. In Panama her sales are next to ours. In Nicaragua, through barter of textiles and manufactures for cotton and woods, Japan's sales increased 500 per cent from 1933 to 1936, and last year pushed ahead of France into fourth place. In all Central America last year, Japan's gain in yen was 40 per cent.

Here and there, however, Nippon has had set backs. In Cuba, by undercover pressure, our commercial attache pushed through legislation for a differential tariff, particularly on textiles, which decreased inversely with the amount of goods any nation bought. For a time the Japanese were forced to pay nearly four times the duty we did.

In Costa Rica, though Japan enjoys an unusually favorable trade treaty, there is an ardent anti-fascist movement which, in conjunction with Chinese residents, conducts a severe boycott of Japanese goods. Yet in spite of this opposition, Japanese trade has expanded.

In Ecuador, in 1937, Japanese sales slumped badly because their goods faced a 50 per cent surtax as a result of fewer purchases of native wares. Japan soon bought more and removed the impediment.

The war in China, too, has severely strained Japan's trade. Early this year ironclad control was placed over Japanese purchases abroad. Raw material stocks diminished rapidly. Prices rose. Trade fell off. Most of these restrictions have been lifted, but foreign trade has not yet shown corresponding recovery. However, Japan's relative position in the Latin-American market has not been seriously affected, and she still is bending strong efforts to increase her share.

NIPPON has learned the American stunt of getting free space when it buys advertising. Newspapers in Latin America are larded with articles on Japan, mostly cultural and descriptive, without the slightest hint of the propaganda which Latins are so quick to sense and resent.

The Japanese business man's own civilization, semi-feudal and formalistic, gives him a better clue to the psychology, practices and tastes of the Latin American than is possessed by most Americans and Europeans. Gravely formal, leisurely and punctil-

ious, he possesses exactly the traits which Latin Americans prize. Latin-American business men usually are highly cultured in art, literature and languages. The Japanese cater to their predilections.

Lecturers who speak perfect Spanish are sent out by the Nipponese government to talk on Japanese culture, on science, philosophy and history at South American universities, clubs and other institutions. Poets, writers, painters, even religious leaders have had Latin-American tours subsidized by the Japanese.

THE canny Orientals have also utilized a Pan-Japanese doctrine to promote friendship and trade among the natives. They claim that Latin Americans are their racial brothers, whose ancestors came from Japan centuries ago across the Bering Strait. If this Pan-Japanism, postulated on racial grounds, is used as a "buy in the family" slogan, may it not some day also become political doctrine? Nations have convinced themselves of far more difficult things.

Hispanic-American literati venerate Oriental law, religion and knowledge, as far superior to anything the Occident has to offer. Latin-American leaders admire Japan's prowess and feel that eventually they can imitate her example of a weak though cultured nation becoming strong, independent and aggressive, no longer at the mercy of powerful nations.

In Mexico and Costa Rica, much popular resentment, in the form of boycotts and the like, has been registered against Japan for her invasion of China. However, most of the countries from Argentina to Guatemala, with the exception of Panama and Colombia, are ruled by more or less savage dictatorships, and their people are not permitted to voice or even to form their own opinions on such matters.

According to our own laissez-faire doctrines, the Japanese are entitled to as much trade as they can get. But increasing trade inevitably means increasing immigration, financial penetration and political influence. In these days trade cannot be disassociated from political pressure and dogmas. Japan, especially since her alliance with Germany and Italy, favors authoritarian governments—the traditional form of state in South

America. In fact, Japanese political ideas are much more welcome to some southern dictators than any unpleasant prattle about democracy.

At various times, openly and secretly, Japan has sold large quantities of munitions to Peru. She provided much of Paraguay's equipment during the Chaco War. She gets orders for uniforms, cartridges, etc. She has made handsome offers to exchange battleships for native products. At present Japan needs most of her munitions herself, but when the war with China ends she will be looking for a place to dump guns, cartridges, shells, artillery and other supplies at bargain counter rates in order to keep her bloated armament industry from collapsing overnight.

Politically Japan's strongest hold in Latin America is Peru. This has historic antecedents. Peru has a long tradition of close relationships with the Orient rather than with Europe. Not until the Panama Canal was opened, in 1914, was Peru really brought close to European markets and influence.

But the old friendly relations between Peru and Japan have continued. Japanese alone, of all foreigners, are freed from many restrictions. President Sanchez Cerro showed hearty pro-Japanism. The present Peruvian dictator, Oscar Benavides, for a time courted the United States. Then, angered by our apparent partiality toward Colombia, he let out several loud blasts against American tariffs and loan retirement terms. Now his government, despite an American naval mission, remains under the thumb of Italians, Germans and Japanese. When the gold braided dictator steps out socially he usually is accompanied on one hand by the Italian minister, on the other by the Japanese minister. Peru and Poland were the only two League of Nations members who voted against censuring Japan for her invasion of China. Japanese residents in Peru have offered to put at the disposal of the government, any time needed, 20,000 trained armed men.

Japan is a factor to be reckoned with in Latin America. Quite apart from trade, Nippon will have great economic and political importance there in the future. Her commerce and cultural influence to the south of us—even if she is severely weakened by the Chinese war—are apt to increase rather than decrease during the long years to come.

Does She Hold the Key to Cancer?

By CORINNE REID FRAZIER

"Does She Hold the Key to Cancer?" won first prize in a contest recently conducted by the Women's Press Club of New York for articles of not more than 1800 words by women writers on the work or activity of some outstanding American woman. In addition to the cash prize, the award also included publication in CURRENT HISTORY.

Miss Frazier, author of this essay, received the \$100 award at the annual meeting of the Women's Press Club of New York at the Hotel Pennsylvania. The entire ceremony was broadcast over the networks of the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System.

SHE has watched one hundred generations live and die! Her name is Dr. Maud Slye, and her service to humanity is one of the greatest any woman in the history of the world has given. She is America's foremost feminine cancer research expert, sometimes called the "American Madame Curie." Her goal is prevention rather than cure. She passed the first milestone toward that goal when she proved that cancer tendency is hereditary.

Her one hundred generations were mice, not men. But their medical history is the medical history of man. That is Dr. Slye's theory, borne out by more than thirty years of intensive study in the cancer research laboratory at the University of Chicago which she heads today. The story of her mice, as Dr. Slye herself tells it, is a tale so fascinatingly human that one quite loses sight of the fact that she is talking about the affairs of a creature world, populated by other than human beings.

Maud Slye is a daughter of the Middle West. Born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, she received her A. B. degree from Brown University in 1899. Postgraduate work at the University of Chicago followed. She taught psychology and pedagogy at the Rhode Island State Normal School for several years and in 1911 became instructor in pathology at the University of Chicago. She was elevated to an assistant professorship in 1922 and is now serving as associate professor. She is a member of the Sprague Memorial Institute staff in Chicago and has been awarded many medals and prizes for her work in the field of cancer research as well as for her studies of rickets.

One modest line in her biography found in *Who's Who* gives more insight into her delightful and unusual personality than the entire recital of her education, accomplishments and hard-earned laurels. "Author:" says *Who's Who*, almost as an afterthought to the biography of Maud Slye, pathologist, "*Songs and Solaces* (poems), 1934."

A simple little phrase, but it tells so much about the heart and mind of a woman who has had the patience to watch one hundred generations of mice live their lifespan and the imagination to translate their history into terms of human life.

Dr. Slye is the author of other works as well — brochures on cancer. But the fact that she has found the time to express in verse her passionate love of humanity and depth of understanding which has made her the devoted friend of every tiny heart that beats in her mouse world, is singularly interesting. It is doubly significant to anyone who has heard her dedicate the last ounce of life in her body to the task of arousing human beings to the possibilities of release from the torments of a terrible scourge. She grows another inch in stature with the knowledge that she possesses, with her scientific genius, the power of poetic expression.

ONE has only to listen to her discussing her theory of heredity for five minutes to feel that power. Here is no dry scientist whose head is so far in the upper ether that ordinary mortals can but listen with respectful awe — and little understanding. She translates the most learned of her scientific secrets into simple language, deftly touched with color, so that they are not only understood but remembered.

In telling the story of her research work, Dr. Slye carries you with her, in imagination, into the laboratory where, she explains, two great fields of study looking toward the prevention of cancer are under way. One is the study of the exact role which is played by heredity in the causation of cancer; the other the influence of external factors in its causation.

Mice have been chosen for the studies because in the whole realm of life, from plants to man, mice come nearest to man in the percentage that have cancer and in the types and locations of such growths. Her laboratory is a veritable mouse Utopia, because, she says, "in a laboratory which seeks to prevent cancer, it is necessary to prevent all other forms of diseases up to the limit of possibility, in order that one may know whether he has truly prevented cancer. For cancer is a disease of middle and later life, and if we did not prevent other diseases, we could not know whether or not the individual would have succumbed to cancer had he lived longer. In a laboratory like my own, therefore, every effort is exerted to

keep every mouse alive and well to the oldest possible age."

What a paradise this must have been to Adam and Eve Mouse—the first who found themselves in this charmed Eden, one hundred generations ago! The constant fear of capture and death, which was the lot of all mortal mice in the world from which they were rescued by Dr. Slye, was gone. Thousands of mice each year, who are not gobbled up by pussy or caught in a trap, die of cold. In the laboratory no enemies prowled, and the temperature was always warm. Thus, instead of a normal expectancy of from one to two months of life, Adam and Eve Mouse were permitted to live in peace for their natural lives—twelve long months. And, a few generations later, Mr. and Mrs. Mouse, 4th, found themselves with living great-grandparents—some of them regular Methuselahs of two and three years. Dr. Slye discovered, under the ideal conditions of the laboratory, that it is possible to double and even triple the life span of a mouse.

Not only a longer life but a healthy and a happy one are assured in this Utopia. In nature the search for food is difficult. In the laboratory, food of the kind and in the amount to keep mice fittest is furnished every day. In nature it is almost impossible for a mother mouse to stay alive and well long enough to bear her babies and to bring them up. In the laboratory all infancy is conserved and the well-being of the mother is watched. If a mother mouse should die, her young are "adopted" by foster parents who, according to Dr. Slye, nurture them carefully.

COMPLETE sanitation is maintained, with the result that in a laboratory housing more than 10,000 mice at a time, there has never been an epidemic of any sort whatever during the thirty years of its existence. So, when you go with Dr. Slye into her laboratory, you see every mouse family living in bright, cheerful, completely sanitary quarters. You enter a world, in short, where, as Dr. Slye puts it, "the mice are kings, and we workers of secondary importance." No disease of any sort is ever induced by artificial means in this laboratory. "Except for personal quarrels between males—with which I have nothing to do," Dr. Slye adds dryly, "life in this little world of mice is happy and content. They bear their babies without difficulty or pain; they nurse them faithfully and bring them to adolescence strong and vigorous."

Yet, despite the most ideal conditions, cancer does appear. Diseases, including cancer, occur spontaneously in the natural course of the lives of the mice, just as they occur in the human race. Cancer appears, and is inherited from generation to generation unless a non-cancer strain is bred into the cancer strain, gradually reducing the cancer tendency toward the vanishing point.

Not only cancer, Dr. Slye has proved, but all diseases that occur in mice can be ruled out by selective breeding through knowledge of heredity. This is the first of the two facts she has established which may one day revolutionize entire medical practice. The other is that by selective breeding it is possible to lengthen greatly the span of vital life.

If it is possible in mice, Dr. Slye asks, why not in men?

The thought of what these two things may mean one day to the human race fairly takes one's breath away. Their significance is much too far-reaching to be grasped at once. If we had proper medical records, revealing hereditary histories of every citizen of one city, one state or nation, then in time—not now, or tomorrow, or in the next hundred years, but in due time—it would be possible to eliminate from that city, state or nation, or at least to reduce to a negligible amount, cancer, pneumonia, tuberculosis . . . any of the terrible diseases that Dr. Slye has, in one hundred generations, bred entirely out of hundreds of her mouse families, and prevented with proper care in thousands of others. Many cases of cancer or other disease could be prevented. Dr. Slye points out, even though the tendency is there, if the family doctor knew the complete family history of a child so that he could be trained from birth in habits that would guard against unnecessary exposure or injury which, while not dangerous to others, may be fatal to him.

AH, BUT that "if." With Mr. Shakespeare's pardon, we like not that "if." It makes an impasse. Not an insurmountable difficulty, Dr. Slye believes, but the stumbling block to getting down immediately to the business of guiding human beings to a longer, more healthful existence through the use of common "horse sense" in an effort to breed out certain tendencies that threaten their own lives and those of the children who come after them.

If we had adequate medical records! But we have none. Save for a few isolated cases of family physicians who make a practice of keeping fairly complete family histories of all their patients, there exists no record whatever of what is happening to the human race; no records upon which doctors today could base their advice to patients consulting them on means of preventing cancer, or to aid doctors in making the difficult diagnosis of this disease which often all but consumes its victims before anyone suspects its presence.

To get those medical records, Dr. Slye declares, is the first steps toward waging an effective battle on the cancer killer. "Breeders of stocks and grains have records of their material and are guided by them," she points out, "but we have made no records of this greatest of all experiments—the making of humanity. We have made finer animals for man's use . . . but we have given little attention to what breed of man would use them.

"The future war against cancer and against all other diseases, will, I think, be based not only upon an ever deeper and broader knowledge of medical procedure. It will also be based upon a new and scientifically exact knowledge of the patient. This new contribution will be made by the science of genetics; that is, the laws governing heredity. And that means complete and accurate records. These will be difficult to get, but they can be had. So long as there's life in my body, I shall continue to fight for that first step in the long battle that lies ahead."

Watching Maud Slye's eyes flash blue flames as she says this, seeing the determined set of her chin and the high carriage of her white head, one knows that it will be a good fight, crowning a lifetime of selfless service to humanity.

The Breeding Ground of Imperialism

An educator fears that Great Britain is being slowly strangled by the "old school tie" of Eton and Harrow

By PORTER SARGENT

FROM the English breed, one of the noblest the world has seen, have come men who could face indomitable odds with steadfast purpose, poets whose burning lines have led youth to aspiration or revolt, Darwins, Huxleys, and Rutherfords to open up new lines of thought, bubble pricklers like Shaw and prophets like Wells who would build a new imperialism on the brotherhood of man.

But the descendants of those who had purpose in life and conquests ahead are today unconsciously losing what their fathers gained. They are betraying the civilization they were trained and are being paid to uphold. "England," as Charles Beard wrote in *Events* last November, "is stamped with the symptoms of decay. The British Empire is on the decline. Night has settled over England."

If it was on the playing fields of Eton that Waterloo was won, it is on the playing fields of Eton and Harrow that the Empire is being lost. Under the caning of headmasters in the Public Schools* for generations they have been taught that peculiar combination of snobbery and snubbiness by which England has maintained the caste system at home and put it over her international rivals. From them have emerged the hard bitten and polished snobs who fill the offices and play the puppets for those who control the world's destinies.

Not all of England's leaders and puppets have come from the Public Schools, it is true. A rare exception with the indomitable energy of a Lloyd George may make the climb to the top. But today twenty-five of the fifty-eight ministers, and an even larger proportion of the foreign service, parliamentarians, bank directors, are Public School men. "One-third of all Cabinet Ministers in the last hundred years have come from either Eton or Harrow. . . . twelve of the nineteen Prime Ministers during the

same period." Eton alone claims one-sixth of all the present members of Parliament and ten of Britain's prime ministers.

The great men of England, the thinkers, the scientists, the poets, have escaped the Public School. None have so strongly denounced the sadistic "hardening" system of producing English leaders as those who have been through it. Etonians of mental stature from William Pitt to Aldous Huxley, hated the system.

When, early this year, Professor John Hilton of Cambridge University carried to Oxford his crusade against the caste system and the Public School's influence in British life, he showed that 52 of 56 bishops, 19 of 24 deans, 122 of 156 county court judges and recorders, 152 of civil servants who had salaries of more than £1,000 annually, and 20 of 21 cabinet members are Public School men. "To get a place in these 'reserved stalls,' he says, 'you must have been at the right school and be entitled through life to wear the right school tie.'"

An attempt to explain the mysteries of "the old school tie" was made by James Howard Wellard, an Englishman who has lived in America long enough to understand his countrymen, in his book of last year, *Understanding the English*. Those who wear the old school tie have learned, he says, "to speak in a certain superior manner, dress with the passionless formality which so impresses the outside world, and generally conduct themselves with the formidable aloofness which, together with boiled shirts, upholds the empire in the most remote corners of the earth."

The badge of the ruling class, "the old school tie," which "proclaims its wearer is not, thank God, as other men," is interestingly explained by Edward Acheson in a recent article in *Esquire*. He tells us that Stanley Baldwin, when called to form a Government, expressed the hope that his "should be a Government of which Harrow should not be ashamed," and called to his ministry six old Harrovian school-chums.



These dressy adolescents are public school boys enrolled at Eton. When not wearing topplers, they are busily engaged on the playing fields losing the British Empire Battles of tomorrow.

*The British public school is not public-supported, and in some ways corresponds to the American "private school."

Two years ago the newly appointed headmaster of Eton won wide applause in England for demonstrating his vigor by personally flogging one hundred and ten boys during one year. To rub it in, the cost of the birch is always billed to the family, who proudly pay.

"The system now in operation is not the capitalist system," Sir George Paish wrote in his book, *The Way Out*. "It is a system of Government control of the business machine in all countries, a control for which Governments have had no training and of which they have had little or no understanding. Moreover, their mental equipment is totally unsuited for the constructive effort needed to cause the machine to operate freely and effectively." By Government, which he personifies, he means the Public School boys who are running it. He also knows that behind them, the puppets, are other forces.

This was apparent to Brooks Adams, who knew England when his father was American ambassador. "Today," he wrote in 1919 in "The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma," "Great Britain and America, like the parts of some gigantic saurian which has been severed in a prehistoric contest, seems half consciously to be trying to be controlled by a syndicate of bankers who will direct the governments of the putative governments of this enormous aggregation of vested interests independent of the popular will." What was true in 1919 is even more true today.

The ruling class is no longer what it once was. Taxation for war and for socialistic sops to keep the people quiet has resulted in the depletion of resources of many an old family. Chairmen of great corporations feel it a patriotic duty to uphold the diminishing income of their stockholders. But behind them are shrewder, more aggressive men interested in chemicals and heavy industries. Of the seven billion now going into rearmament, they should get more than their usual twenty or thirty per cent, for while Eden supplies the idealistic front, representatives of heavy industry are in ultimate control. The Zaharoffs and Levantines make imperialism profitable. Their pawns, the Public School puppets, are share holders, who bestow on the Zaharoffs high honors.

THE rest of the world is fast learning the lesson of the doctrines instilled in the Public Schools. France today is

following England's imperial footsteps, taking up "the white man's burden" in Africa and Asia. Italians have been slow to learn to apply British methods in Libya and Ethiopia. The Japanese, retarded, are now proving that they are apt pupils, using the same righteousness of phrase and brutality of method.

"What the present situation demands," Sir George Paish wrote, "is not so much physical courage, which the peoples possess in super-abundance, but moral courage, the courage to stand for what is just and generous and for the common good." But common courage is lacking. Labor is leaderless. The people are fooled. The British parliamentary investigation of war profits has been safely sidetracked. Popular demand had been incited by Senator Nye's investigation in America. But that, too, was stopped by a word from the British bureaucrats through President Roosevelt, just as it was about to disclose that international banker control which Brooks Adams had denounced.

"In the manipulation of information the British are past masters," Eugene J. Young, cable editor of the *New York Times*, and a life-long foreign news man wrote in his recently published book, "Looking Behind the Cables." "They had a lot of experience in molding opinion as they built up the Empire. Every device to paint their own activities as commendable and the activities of others as abhorrent, was carefully studied out. Most of the African Empire was acquired under the device of abolishing slavery; but when Mussolini gave that reason for the invasion of Ethiopia, it was scorned and belittled. The idea is to make mountains out of molehills and molehills out of mountains—depending on whether Britain or some other nation commits an act likely to arouse public protest."

Mr. Young tells us how the late Adolph S. Ochs, former editor of the *New York Times*, revealed how, at the Washington Arms conference of 1921-22, it was arranged that Britain should police the Atlantic, America the Pacific, "our main fleet being kept in it as a restraint on the ambitious Japan. This arrangement also was intended to keep China open for British trade and protect the vast British interests."

IN August, 1933, the Coalition Government was on its last legs. Twelve million people had just voted for

peace and the League. The time for a general election approached. Labor confidently expected to win. A sudden call for a cabinet meeting about the middle of August brought members back from distant vacationing. From the meeting Ramsay MacDonald emerged, announcing, as though he were letting the cat out of the bag more or less purposely, that the decisions made had been the most momentous since the World War.

What happened was that some of the "bright boys" had devised and put across a plan by which the government could perpetuate itself, a plan whereby a rearmament program could be sold to the people that would keep heavy industries prosperous and yield large profits to those in control. Censorship was clamped down on the press, and before the English people were permitted to know, their fleet was in the Mediterranean. Italy was being stirred to whip up enthusiasm for rearmament.

If England had closed the Suez Canal, free men might have triumphed in Ethiopia. Spain would have settled her own differences. Japan would not have been so cocky.

When the English people had been stirred to war intensity of enthusiasm in support of the League, a general election was sprung on them. The "crew" received a new lease of life. The rearmament program was announced. Huge profits were assured. The Labor Party which had been so confident of triumph, had been skillfully fooled and was confused and helpless.

Major General J. E. B. Seely, soldier, statesman and sportsman who served in the Boar War, House of Commons, as Secretary of State had more to do with organizing England for the World War than any other one man. In his autobiography *Adventure* he tells how for an hour in 1914 the British Constitution was suspended while millions were provided for the "Intelligence Service" that brought England and her allies into the war. Seely is strong in denouncing the famed "hardening system" of producing English-gentlemen. He sees it as a subtle source of weakness rather than as the key to British imperial success as it is ordinarily held to be. England and her colonies are strewn with psychopathic wrecks in high places who were created in the English public schools by flogging methods.

DEMOCRACY THE DUTCH WAY

Having wrested a nation from the sea, Hollanders are steering clear of the reefs of false "isms"

By FRANCIS O. WILCOX

"God created heaven and earth, except Holland, which was made by the Dutch themselves."

THE world has long admired Holland as a picturesque land of bright colored tulips, wind mills, canals, wooden shoes and baggy breeches, as well as the home of Spinoza, Rembrandt and Hugo Grotius. Today in the midst of a war-torn, fascist-ridden Europe—bumping along from one crisis to another—that same Holland stands out as a bulwark of democracy and a positive advocate of world peace and free trade.

Not that the Dutch escaped the great depression. Indeed, few countries in Europe during the period 1932-1936 were struck so severely. Although her prosperity depends largely on international trade, Holland clung to the gold standard with Calvin-like honesty. Foreign markets collapsed. Wages fell. Unemployment figures soared to over 400,000—five times the world average. The usual group of malcontents, in search of the more abundant life, were attracted by the glowing promises of extremist parties. Small-town shopkeepers, debtor *paysans* and the unemployed flocked to the standard of Anton-Adrian Mussert, the Dutch Fuehrer, or sided with the Communists. As a result, in the provincial elections of 1935 the National Socialists polled 294,000 votes (8 per cent of the total), the Communists accounting for 127,000.

Elated by this show of strength and equipped with an organization and program smacking strongly of German National Socialism, the Nazis girded themselves for a showdown in the 1937 national election. Following extensive propaganda and the expenditure of considerable money (partly furnished by friends across the border), leaders boastfully predicted they would capture twenty seats in the legislature.

The democrats, led by their strong man, Dr. Hendrik Colijn, accepted the challenge. A new movement, "Unity through Democracy," was established to oppose both Communism

How did the Dutch democratic parties defeat the Nazi movement in Holland?

Have the Dutch made themselves "the best housed people in the world?"

How does Holland reduce the possibility of the loss of production from strikes?

Why do English housewives pay less for Dutch eggs and butter than do Dutch housewives?

What is Holland's program to preserve peace?

These questions are answered in the accompanying article.

and Fascism on a national scale. Called upon by their leader "to display the hard-headed common sense traditionally associated with the Dutchman," the people marched to the polls on the negative errand of rebuking the extremist movements. When the smoke of battle cleared away the Nazis were left with a total of only 171,000 votes and (thanks to the Dutch system of proportional representation which favors small parties) a meager four seats in the lower house. Stated Dr. Colijn following the election: "One thing I can say, our people have called a halt to Nazism."

The disintegrating rebuff suffered by the Nazis was widely attributed to two immediate factors. In the first place, the marriage of Princess Juliana undoubtedly rallied the support of the general public about the royal standard. Prince Bernhard and his bride became exceedingly popular and when rumors of a new royal heir were noised about the Lowlands, the stock of the House of Orange touched new heights. Nazi support decreased proportionately. Furthermore, the National Socialists made the tactical blunder of opposing the government's devaluation policy. Consequently, when signs of prosperity appeared following Holland's departure from the gold standard, the party's prestige naturally suffered.

OTHER more permanent guardians of Dutch democracy were pointed out by Dutch citizens with whom I recently discussed the problem. "It's the temperament of the Dutch people," a keen-eyed official of the National Employment Office told me. "Everything in Holland is moderate—human attitudes as well as summer and winter—and even if a revolution came it would be moderate too." "It is largely because the leading political parties in Holland are based on religion," explained a Dutch professor who, like many of his people, had mastered four languages. "Many Dutchmen still believe that religious principles should form the basis of political life."

"It's because of the rich returns from the East Indies," commented a young lawyer. "This does much to keep the country prosperous." "The secret lies in the fact that Holland was not ravaged by the World War," asserted an economics student at the University of Leyden. Still others insisted that their country's stability was largely due to its small size and the ease with which it can be governed. And a worker suggested that the confidence of the nation had been retained because everyone—merchant, banker, farmer, worker and unemployed—realized that the government was doing all it could throughout the crisis to cope with a difficult situation. In all cases considerable emphasis was placed on the influence of the honest, conservative individualism that is the true Calvinist heritage of the Dutch people.

The viewpoint of the late American minister at The Hague is interesting. "Good government," he said, "can come only through good leadership. Holland is extremely fortunate, in these trying times, in having at the helm of the ship of state one of the greatest of European statesmen. Indeed, if Dr. Colijn were Premier of a Great Power he would take second rank to no political leader on the continent."

One of the brightest feathers in the Dutch cap is the fact that perhaps no

other people in the world are housed quite so well as the people of Holland. From the humblest farm house to the apartment houses of the larger municipalities there is an air of neatness and permanence about Dutch homes that is refreshing. One can search in vain for slums comparable to those found in the United States. Furthermore, there are plenty of homes to go around, for, as the Chief Inspector of State Housing assured me, "practically every working class family can have, as a rule, four rooms and a kitchen in which to live." This simple fact, the Dutch claim, is "one of the greatest premiums against revolution."

BACK in 1901, while the United States still suffered from growing pains, Holland enacted its Housing Law. As a result of it, most buildings throughout the country today meet standard specifications as to light, air space, sanitation, fire protection, etc. Between the years 1919 and 1934 the tremendous total of 714,000 new dwelling units were constructed—more than half the total of the 1,380,000 units existing in 1919. Government grants and low cost loans to private builders and to public utility building societies were instrumental in the erection of 264,000 of the units erected during the later period. The public utility building societies are in effect cooperatives, renting their houses to society members at low cost. As a result, from one-fifth to one-sixth of the working man's budget goes for rent—much less than he is compelled to pay in most of Europe. And today Holland has a surplus of houses!

Certainly when one inspects the many handsome and serviceable apartments constructed by the government for the low income classes in Amsterdam, one comes away with the conviction that when any state can furnish similar living quarters for all its people, its government will have gone a long way towards justifying its continued existence.

Dutch democracy also functions fairly well in the realm of labor. Since many representatives of both capital and labor are fellow members of the leading political parties—which are based largely on religious principles—conflicts between classes are less open and less bitter than in many countries. Strikes and lockouts are largely prevented by legislation

providing for the amicable settlement of labor disputes on the basis of conciliation. "Conciliation as practiced in Holland," explained a Dutch labor authority and conciliator, "is based on the assumption that it is quite possible that both parties are right. In probably 75 per cent of the cases we iron out the difficulties between capital and labor without the appearance of violence. Production thus suffers very little, for less than 100,000 work days were lost in Holland through strikes last year." In the United States, it is worth recalling, the 136,000 workers involved in the General Motors strike alone lost millions of work days.

As in most advanced European states, the new deal in Dutch labor came long before it arrived in the United States. Child labor was regulated as early as 1874. The eight hour day was established in 1919. Workers are protected against sickness (1929), accidents (1921, 1929), invalidity and old age (1919), the premiums in the latter three cases being paid entirely by the employer.

One dark spot in the Dutch labor picture is the fact that unemployment has not been reduced as rapidly as in many other countries. While the official figures of July 1, 1937, listed 310,000 (a decrease of 18 per cent over July, 1936) there were actually about 400,000 unemployed. Of these, 200,000 secured help from relatives or other sources, 150,000 received direct relief from the local and national governments, and the remainder were engaged in the construction of canals, streets and other public works. Real concern is being displayed over what seems to be a more or less permanent unemployment problem—especially since the public works program, because of a lack of available projects, the cost of materials, supervision, etc., can be extended beyond its present limited scope only with difficulty.

For the visitor the most amazing public project now being undertaken in Holland is the draining of the Zuider Zee. Some three years ago the great 21-mile dike in this \$500,000,000 enterprise was completed, separating the Zuider Zee from the waters of the North Sea. The gigantic task of pumping the water from the 600,000 fertile acres behind the dikes will absorb the labor of over 5,000 men for years to come.

The splendid crops growing last summer on the rich land already re-

claimed seemed to stand as a silent yet magnificent tribute to the mighty little nation which, by fighting and overcoming the forces of nature, rather than its neighbors, will have increased its arable land by 10 per cent.

THE DUTCH farmer, that type of man who sells butter and eats margarine, was hard hit during the difficult days from 1932 to 1936. Fifty per cent of Holland's agricultural and industrial products must be exported. The erection of tariff walls abroad following 1929 brought a rude halt to the flow of Dutch butter, cheese, bacon, eggs, fresh fruits and vegetables, flower bulbs and other products to foreign lands. In six years the export of fresh vegetables to Germany fell 77 per cent. Butter and cheese exports dropped by 50 per cent.

All this had disastrous results. A great surplus of agricultural products meant low prices which, of course, cut the farmer's purchasing power. The matter was only made worse in that throughout the crisis the government remained true to the gold standard and thus made it difficult for Dutch goods to compete on the world market.

Faced with the dilemma of trying to sell without buyers, the Dutch government introduced all sorts of levies, bounties, licenses, taxes, and restrictions to bolster up the home market and give the farmer a chance to sell his produce at a fair price. Several hundred thousand cattle were slaughtered, the meat being distributed to the unemployed and the poor. The government likewise paid minimum prices for fruits and vegetables, if there were no other buyers, and distributed them among the needy. Flower bulbs were destroyed and subventions were granted the producers of horticultural products, potatoes, sugar, flax and cereals. Limitations were placed on the raising of chickens, cattle and hogs; price-fixing was resorted to and export and import controls were established.

Naturally such emergency activity necessitated considerable centralization of governmental power, some "regimentation," and no little increase in taxes. Last year good Dutch housewives complained that they were paying 1.90 florins for a kilo of Dutch butter while much of the butter produced was sold in England at half that price.

Little wonder, therefore, that Hol-



The boom in housing has been one of the most notable developments in Holland's recent history. A modern new structure is shown above.

land is exerting every effort to open the channels of international trade, although she must patiently await action on the part of her two great customers, Germany and England. Economic conferences of the Oslo powers have been called at her initiative to examine the situation. Dr. Colijn, in announcing Dutch policy in 1936, stated that "we have the lowest customs tariff in the world." And while we have a system of quotas for imports . . . we are quite willing to discuss its amendment with such countries as are ready to give us equivalent concessions." As the *Economist* remarked recently, "no more can we hold with Canning that

"In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch
Is giving too little and asking too much!"

This attitude is apparently bearing fruit. Last spring it was reported that exports had increased by more than 50 per cent over the preceding year. Imports are up, unemployment is decreasing, wages are rising and the government is exerting every effort to hold prices down for the benefit of the low income class. Better markets are being found for the rubber, sugar, tin, cocaine, oil, coffee, tea and quinine of the colonies—and it must be remembered that there is "scarcely a Dutchman of eminence whose career does not smack of East Indian sugar and coffee."

Other leading planks in Holland's foreign policy platform are security, independence, and rearmament. Be-

cause of her position and size the Netherlands naturally upholds the League of Nations ideal, and along with other "neutral" European states has consistently cooperated at Geneva in the furtherance of an equitable program for world peace. In March, 1937, the Foreign Minister remarked in the lower House that "Collective security is what we favour, and it will succeed in the end."

But her practical statesmen have no idle delusions as to the effectiveness of existing peace machinery. Premier Colijn is convinced that the invasion of Holland by von Moltke and Ludendorff was averted in 1914 only because Dutch forces were able to make a considerable show of strength.

"We may only claim the right of independence," he said, "if we are prepared to defend it to the best of our ability." His policy, therefore, is to maintain enough arms and ships so that the Netherlands might, by combining with another state, play a deciding, balance-of-power role.

Rearmament consequently follows the fervid European pattern. Steps have been taken to strengthen the German and Belgian frontier fortifications, and preparations are now completed to station 25,000 men at the border apart from mobilization. On September 21, Queen Wilhelmina, in her speech from the throne, referred to "the danger of international complications," and dedicated her country to a new and impressive armament program. The government intends to increase both the army and navy 50 per cent and the ordinary budget es-

timates for defense have been fixed at 110,000,000 florins for 1937-38 as against 85,000,000 last year. Further, a four-year fund of 150,000,000 florins is to protect colonies and homeland.

Several lessons in democracy may be learned from the Dutch experience. In the first place, democracy cannot long endure where property concentrates in the hands of a few. "Our philosophy," said an official high in the Foreign Office last summer, "is that *everybody should be little capitalists* in one way or another. Give all the people something to lose and there will be little danger of revolution." Dutch land remains widely distributed, there being 234,145 farms in 1930 as against 209,172 in 1910, the majority operated by owners.

In the second place, Dutch democracy is made of fairly stern stuff. Dr. Colijn, believing that a weak, "wishy-washy" government cannot cope successfully with the intricate problems of the modern world, has worked to strengthen the hands of the executive at the expense of the legislature, along the lines of the British parliamentary system. He has likewise taken steps to reduce the large number of political parties, for he realizes that the weakness and inefficiency of coalition governments in both Germany and Italy were partly responsible for the fall of democratic regimes there.

The Dutch have heard National Socialism thundering at the right and Communism growling at the left until they realize that many of their cherished convictions will have to be thought out afresh.



Section of the famous Zuider Zee, Holland's notable construction project.

The Camera's Story of History-in-the-Making

FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT

WHEN the Federal Music Project was created under WPA to arrest deteriorating skills, hundreds of musicians were taken from labor jobs to which they had been assigned and placed in new units for which their training equipped them. It was a salvation for the musicians and for the nation. Musicians made notoriously poor ditch diggers and indifferent clerks. And no wonder. Without training for the heavy manual labor to which he was assigned, the impoverished instrumentalist faced a number of hazards. His whole career from pupil to master musician had been marked by the care which he had taken of his hands; injury to those hands might bar him forever from his profession. Under the circumstances it is no wonder he handled his pick and shovel gingerly. In addition, the musician's morale, along with the morale of many thousands of other people, was undermined. The one difference between a competent artist and a lack-

At present there are some 15,000 musicians enrolled in the following units:

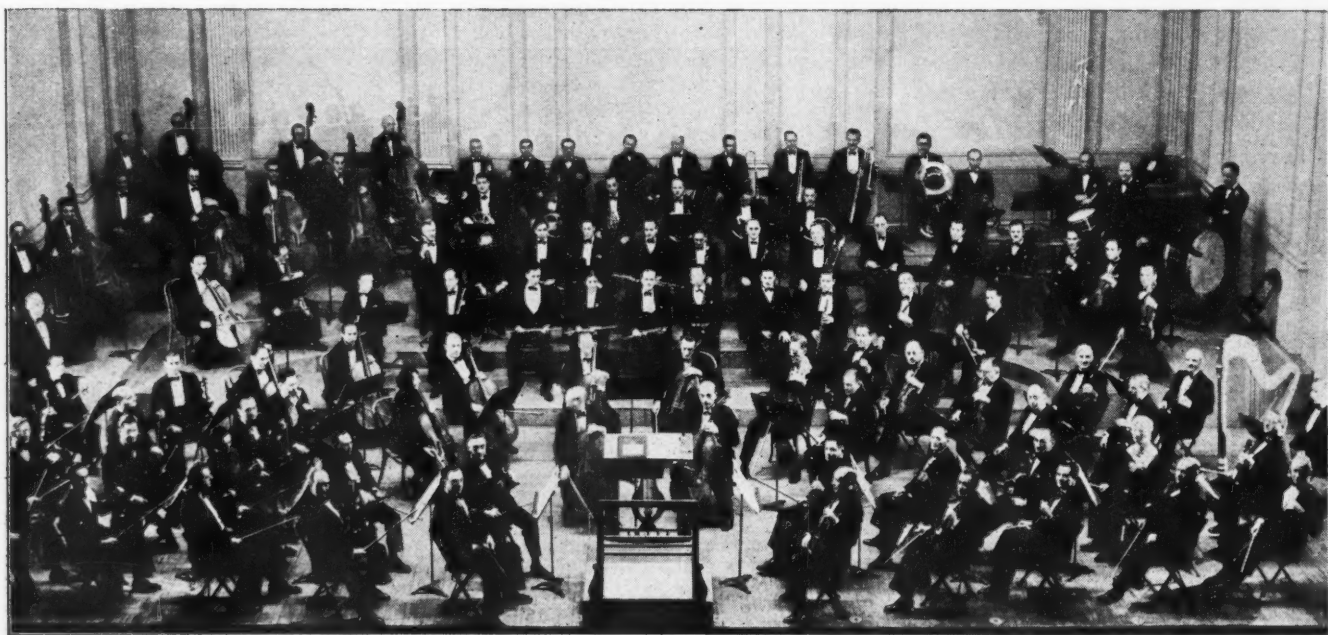
Number of Projects	Type	Personnel		
		Relief	Non-relief	Total
162	Symphony and concert orchestras.....	5005	832	5837
97	Bands	2758	226	2984
26	Chamber music ensemb'e.....	231	24	255
122	Dance, theatre and novelty orchestras	1679	141	1820
33	Vocal, chorus, quartets, etc.....	1122	124	1246
4	Opera Groups.....	252	50	302
202	Teaching Projects.....	1377	118	1495
27	Copyists, librarians.....	428	42	470
1	Composers Project.....	1		1
2	Soloists Projects.....	181		181
18	Miscellaneous (Coordinating, administrative, supervisory, labor).....	283	30	313
Total 694		13,317	1,587	14,904



Dr. Nikolai Sokoloff, National Director of the WPA Federal Music Project.

daical performer can be measured in terms of morale.

The initial steps taken under the CWA and the FERA to assist the unemployed musician had been unsuccessful. Neither technique nor formula had been available for the tremendous job of bringing the instrumentalists and music teachers into efficient performing units. How-



WPA Symphony Orchestra, one of three maintained in New York City



Music is recreation to these children playing in a rhythm band under WPA guidance.

ever, capitalizing upon the experience of early failures, the Federal Music Project has won an incontestable success.

The majority of these musicians were on relief when the Federal Government inaugurated a program of conservation of human skills, and professional abilities. Only the skilled musicians were eligible for relief on the Federal Music Project. Non-relief musicians, serving on audition boards in hundreds of communities, passed on the ability of applicants. Although standards differed in

various sections of the country—as between urban and rural—nevertheless, there has been a firm insistence upon proved musical integrity in concert performance and educational activities. The audition boards found thousands of trained and experienced musicians among the unemployed. The work of these musicians in their various communities has been little short of amazing.

It is estimated that approximately 25,000,000 people have attended concerts or performances of the Federal Music Project. More than a score of symphony orches-



More than 1500 WPA instructors are opening a new world to thousands of music hungry people. This group of madrigal singers is rated one of the best, if not the best of its kind, in the world.



This group of Negro melody singers under the direction of Juanita Hall gives renditions of folk songs and spirituals.

tras comprising between 70 and 110 musicians have been bringing living music to the American people. Emphasizing the music written by American composers, these orchestras compare favorably with the best in the world.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the Federal Music Project concerns the rehabilitation and retraining of some 1,600 teachers of music now on its rolls. Their intensive work has revealed an unexpected hunger for music among large groups of our people.

The classes over which these Federal Project teachers preside enroll hundreds of thousands of persons, divided equally between adults and children.

A possible indication of the interest with which other nations are watching America's Federal experiment with the arts is seen in the appearance with the WPA orchestras of Jerzy Bajanowski, sent by Poland to the United States on a musical mission of inquiry, as well as Carlos Chavez, Mexico's ranking conductor and composer.



Of the hundreds of thousands of persons enrolled in WPA music classes more than half are children.

V. F. CALVERTON

Cultural Barometer

IN ANCIENT and medieval times art belonged to the people. Artists in the main worked with materials and in media which were public rather than private and dealt with subjects and themes which the people understood. The modern world, however, developed a new type of artist and a new type of art. Art became more of a private than a public concern and artists found their best and most lucrative employment in working for individuals and not for the state, the church, or other organizations. Since the World War, that tendency has reversed itself and public art has again become more important than private art. In practically every country, the United States, Soviet Russia, Mexico, England, France, the best work being done in art today is in mural and fresco form.

The latest and one of the most interesting developments of this trend in art is the Labor Exhibition which the Baltimore Museum of Art has scheduled for this month. The opening of the Exhibition, appropriately enough, will be on Labor Day. National representatives from many labor organizations will be present to celebrate the significance of the occasion. "To our knowledge," the *Baltimore Federationist* writes, "no museum has done it, and the show the Baltimore Museum is planning is indicative of more than a mere desire to display a timely art collection . . . Labor . . . is human personality expressed in work (and it is that) which gives a thing distinction. A beautiful piece of silver reflects the beauty in the mind of the one who designed and fashioned it. A beautiful fabric comes only from skillful and understanding fingers. . . . The Baltimore Museum is on its way to become a museum of the people."

Ever so many labor papers have heralded this exhibition as an event of national, even international, significance, but the editor of the *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, a national trade union publication, puts it most pithily when he writes:

"This is the first time that any municipal museum of art in the United States has ever undertaken to appeal

to, or work with, the labor unions. . . . The whole project is destined to attract nation-wide attention. It indicates that the new spirit of the times has reached the inner offices hitherto believed closed to the currents and sentiment going through the life of the people."

NOT long ago, Otto Rettig, manager of the Ormont Theater in East Orange, N. J., was arrested for showing the film, *The Birth of a Nation*, and charged with violating a state statute banning "the portrayal of things inciting to racial hatred." The people who had Mr. Rettig arrested under this statute were the Negroes of the city.

The statute employed by the Negroes had been originally enacted by the legislature as a curb on Nazi activities, and this marks the first time that it has been invoked. The protest of the Negroes began with a demand that the picture be deleted of its anti-Negro sections; Mr. Rettig consented to make certain deletions but they did not satisfy the Negro committee and the arrest followed. What the Negroes object to in the film is the portrayal of the Negro characters in Reconstruction days and the scenes devoted to the rise of the Ku Klux Klan. Anyone who has seen the picture realizes that the Negroes are justified in their objections just as they would be equally justified in their objections to *Gone with the Wind* if they wished to press them. Both the picture and the book, like many other pictures and books, are based upon legend and not actuality, but it is legend which has become so widely accepted that it is more convincing than actuality.

Nevertheless, despite its inaccuracies, exaggerations, and historical indecencies and distortions, *The Birth of a Nation* is a memorable and significant film. It was the first film to give the United States standing in the eighth art. What every film critic knows is that Griffiths in *The Birth of a Nation* was the first director to exploit devices, techniques, approaches, slants which since have become a familiar part of the cinematic paraphernalia of every director today.

It was Griffiths, long before the French, as was later discovered, who had first developed in *The Birth of a Nation* what has become internationally known as "montage." It was Griffiths too who was the first director to master the art of handling masses on the screen and assembling them into unforgettably vivid sets and designs, the effect of which has influenced the whole history of the film industry.

This makes it even more regrettable that Griffiths should have marred so excellent a film with such egregious ineptitudes of interpretation and emphasis. Yet, when all is said, it is not Griffiths who is to be blamed so much as our history-makers who provided him with the legend he adopted for his film.

Now what is the legend at stake which made the Negroes in East Orange become so determined and bitter in their denunciation of the cinema? In a few words, it is simply this: that after the Civil War the Negroes, emancipated from their slave status, went berserk, tore down the framework of the white man's civilization, rode rough-shod over everything the white man cherished, made a mockery of his institutions and a farce of his ideals. Backed by the carpetbaggers and scalawags, Negroes were elected to state legislatures and even to Congress and in those sacred places traduced every value and every virtue which white civilization had erected. What was worse was that the Negro was striding across the land as if he owned it, scorning white men, and imprisoning them arbitrarily; he was primitive in his psychology and ruthless in his politics; white women were not safe with him around and white children were terrified at his presence. Something had to be done to save the white people from being destroyed by the black fiends who had taken possession of their lands, their homes, their civilizations. So up sprang the Ku Klux Klan as a desperate effort on the part of the downtrodden Southerners to regain the rights and freedoms of which they had been deprived.

This is the legend which has been perpetuated by most of our historians

—there are exceptions, of course, as exemplified by the Beards, Kendrick and Hacker, Woodson, Dubois and others—and which is believed by most of the American people, above as well as below the Mason and Dixon line, and which Griffiths accepted as the basis of his film. In one part of the picture, for instance, the Lieutenant Governor of Georgia, a mulatto, is seen attempting to attack the Governor's daughter, and in another scene a white girl, pursued by a Negro, leaps over a cliff. In short, ever since its first showing the picture has been open to criticism and protest from a social and racial angle.

Now, let us see, as far as we can, because this is a matter of great cultural significance, what is true and what is false about the picture. First, as to the legend:

Historians inevitably point their interpretations according to their bias, or biases. If unconsciously you are convinced that the Negroes are a hopelessly inferior people and that anything they did in legislatures or out of them was bound to be bad, then anything recorded in their favor will be dismissed as insignificant. If, on the contrary, you should happen to be a Negro, or even a belated Abolitionist, what you would do would be to exaggerate the importance of even the most unimportant things that Negroes did in any and all situations. In both cases, interest would be at stake which would prevent any valid judgment.

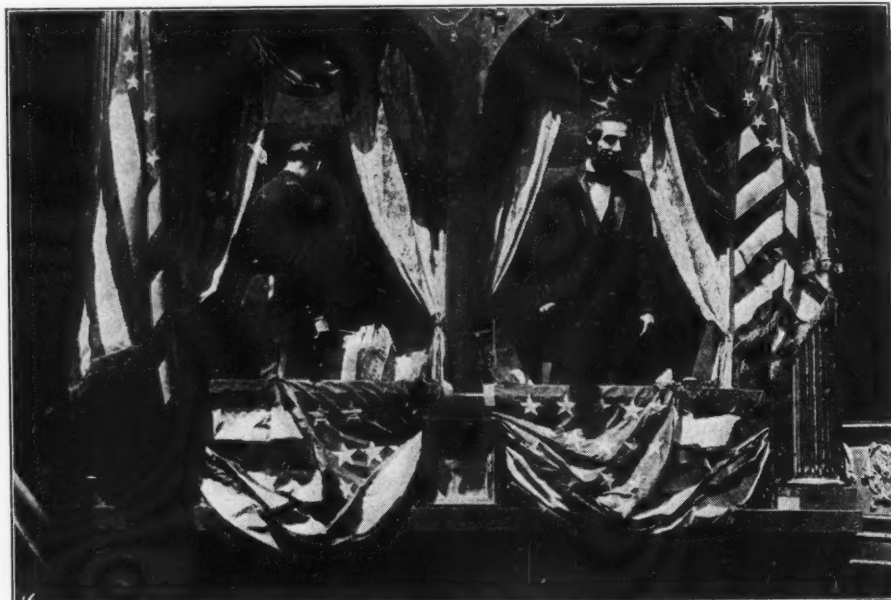
The trouble with most people of different race or color is that they see only the lower or lowest elements of the other group. White people seldom come in contact with Negroes except those of a menial variety; rich people seldom come into contact with the poor except in their more servile and unimpressive capacities. The result is their judgments are perverted by the limitations of their observations. Germans who despise Italians really don't despise Italians at all; they despise the inferior, uneducated, uninspiring Italians they meet. If they met first-rate Italians, a Croce, a Gentile, a Borge, a Salvemini, their reaction would be different. The contempt which most peoples, groups, nations, and races feel for each other is bred from their ignorance of the better, the finer elements of those whom they scorn. If most white people met the finer type of Negro, if most rich people met the more intelligent elements among the poor, if most Germans in this country

met the better and more cultured type of Italians, Greeks, Rumanians, or Lithuanians, the scorn, the contempt which they feel for them would be considerably abated. But they don't. And they make their judgments on the basis of the people of those groups they meet, which is in no sense fair or justifiable to the people or groups in question.

No one would dispute the fact that during Reconstruction days, when the carpetbaggers overran the South and used the Negro as a pawn to increase their power, a number of black men misbehaved, got drunk, robbed, raped and murdered. But there were plenty of whites doing the same things at the same time. What is more important, however, is that the Negro leaders of

ished the whipping post, the branding iron, the stocks and other barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from about twenty to two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sums appropriated for public works. In all of that time no man's rights of person were invaded under the forms of law. Every Democrat's life, home, fireside, and business were safe. No man obstructed any white man's way to the ballot box, interfered with his freedom of speech or boycotted him, on account of his political faith."

In *The Birth of a Nation* one is led to believe that Southern legislatures were dominated by Negroes. That is all part of the same legend. As a matter of fact, in only two states did the



Lincoln at Ford's Theater, a few minutes before his assassination. A scene from D. W. Griffith's film classic, "The Birth of a Nation."

the time were doing a sound, constructive job in the legislatures and in the public institutions of their respective states. It is to the Negro legislators of those days that the South is indebted in the main for most of its public school education system. In fact, as Tourgee stated, "They obeyed the Constitution of the United States and annulled the bonds of states, counties and cities which had been issued to carry on the war of rebellion and maintain armies in the field against the Union. They instituted a public school system in a realm where public schools had been unknown. They opened the ballot box and jury box to thousands of white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of earthly possessions. They introduced home rule in the South. They abol-

Negroes ever have a majority in the legislatures at any one time, and there only for a brief period. In Alabama, for instance, during 1868 and 1869, there were 106 whites and 27 Negroes in the legislature; in Arkansas at the same time there were eight Negroes and 96 whites; in Georgia there were 186 whites and 33 Negroes; in Mississippi there were 106 whites and 34 Negroes, and so on. In the main, the Negroes did not hold high offices but very inconspicuous ones. Only two Negroes ever served in the United States Senate, Hiram R. Revels and B. K. Bruce, and only twenty ever became members of the House. Of the Negroes who did serve in Congress, for instance, ten were college men and most of the others were men of relatively high character.

It is important to cite all this as a sort of balance sheet for *The Birth of a Nation*. The argument is not that such things as depicted in the film never happened, or never could happen, but that they are untypical of the Negro people as a whole and constitute a most egregiously distorted picture of the period in question.

The Birth of a Nation, or to turn to fiction, *Gone With the Wind*, or the rose-colored, sentimental novels of Thomas Nelson Page, Winston Churchill, Mary Johnston, and practically all the pre-World War Southern novelists, never suggest or insinuate the presence of such progressive Negro leaders in their midst. Their Negroes are either "bad niggers" or Uncle Toms which means Negroes who are submissive to the domination of the whites, and to whom all progressive actions on the part of their race are anathema. Fortunately, today a number of Southern novelists have sprung up whose attitude toward the Negro is a more healthful and objective one, freed in considerable part from the *Birth of a Nation* legend of him. In the works of Paul Green, Erskine Caldwell, Du Bose Heyward, Langston Hughes, and even lately in Faulkner, the Negro is being treated not as a cutthroat, a rapist, and a menace to white civilization, but as a human being with rights of his own, with an intelligence of his own, and with a future which is his undeniable heritage. All one has to do, to realize the contrast, is to compare *The Birth of a Nation* with Paul Green's drama *In Abraham's Bosom*, or Langston Hughes' drama *Mulatto*.

It is always important for us to remember that no people, no race, no nation, is invulnerable to attack from many points and directions. Katherine Mayo, for instance, declared that her *Mother India* was based upon facts and evidence of an incontrovertible variety. India seen through her eyes is a land of disease and destruction, of fierce superstitions and pullulating horrors, with mad dervishes and weird yogis, leading the people in a constant dance of death. The United States, envisioned by the Hindu author of *Uncle Sham*, is a country without dream, without mercy, without culture; all through the South, on the powerful branches of ancient trees, bodies of black men, mutilated by maniacs, swing desperately month after month, sacrifices to the Great God Lynch; in river towns little chil-

dren slave from dawn to dusk, working beside their parents in mills and factories, living on little more than Chinese coolies; in cities innocent men are forced to pay toll to vicious gangsters who have developed the art of torture and murder to a point which would make the Medici blush; on country highways, in candid sunlight, little girls are raped and murdered, and by night and day men and women, boys and girls, and even babies, are kidnapped and held for ransom; and in asylums and sanatoria the insane multiply more prolifically than anywhere else in the world. If you doubt the author's facts, he will refer you to the newspaper descriptions, the magazine references, and the statistical collations, all in clear black print, from which he derived them.

Despite the fact that everything in *Uncle Sham* is true, true factually and statistically, the book itself is false. It is false because it has distorted its facts out of all perspective. The same is true of Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*.

And the same is true of *The Birth of a Nation*.

TURNING from cinema to stage, we are faced with a conflict which has begun to assume magnitudinous proportions and acrimonious intensity. New York theatrical producers have just issued a petition challenging the right of the Federal theatre to stage plays within the officially accepted theatre district. Brock Pemberton and others declare that when Federal Theatre was in the process of organization "it was agreed that only theatres south of 42nd street and north of 52nd would be used . . . in order to avoid conflict with the professional theatre." To date the Federal Theatre authorities have refused to comment on the petition.

What I am interested in primarily is in considering the respective interests at stake. It is important to note that no such conflict has developed in any other city. The fact is, of course, that New York is the only city in which professional theatre continues to flourish night after night and render its investors, promoters, and participants a steady and considerable profit. Without question producers are put at something of disadvantage in having to compete with a Federal theatre group, in that the latter is subsidized by the government and is not, therefore, as immediately subject to the annihilating process of economic com-

petition as the non-Federal theatres are. At the same time, the governmental subsidies afforded to the Federal Theatre are not of such a magnitude as to make it possible to employ the best actors and actresses or to secure the best playwrights. The very salaries paid to the actors and actresses and the prices paid to the playwrights eliminate the Federal Theatre as a competitive factor in the situation. Whether the Federal Theatre stages its plays north of 42nd street, or south of 52nd, or south of 42nd and north of 52nd, really does not matter, and the theatrical producers, no matter what they may contend to the contrary, know that to be the case.

What is really at stake is simply a matter of ticket prices. The Federal Theatre cannot compete with the professional (so-called legitimate) theatre in the quality of plays or their box office seductiveness; it cannot compete in the matter of actors and actresses, or in the cost of sets or in the scope of musical embellishment. It can compete only in the field of prices where it can easily undersell the professional theatre. Obviously, what this means is that the people who cannot afford the professional theatre prices may be attracted to the Federal Theatre productions. Actually, they may prefer to attend the professional theatre productions since they are usually more popular and more skillfully and subtly handled. It is only the price which weighs the scales at all in the Federal Theatres favor.

All of which means, reduced to the lowest common denominator, that what the professional theatre has to do, in order not to be worried about competition with the Federal Theatre, is to lower its prices of admission. Theatre prices in New York are notoriously exorbitant. In no other city do such prices prevail. They keep the great mass of theatre loving people from attending the theatre.

What the professional theatre in New York has to do, in other words, is to reduce the prices of its tickets, which is something that the New York populace would respond to with alacrity. When that is done, New York producers will no longer fear competition from the Federal Theatre, or any other kind of theatre. If the Federal Theatre forces the New York producers to reduce their theatre prices, it will have accomplished a most excellent service for the New York theatre-going public.

THE GOVERNMENT

Summary of activities and work of the various Federal Government departments and agencies

Current History publishes this department out of a need for a compact, correlated monthly review of the work of the Federal Government. Included here are treaties, documents, reports, releases, speeches and surveys, com-

paratively few of which have been published in the public press in detailed form. Only material of general importance and significance is included in this section. For purposes of conciseness, the material will be excerpted.

Department of State

Note delivered by Secretary of State Cordell Hull to Francisco Castillo Najera, Mexican Ambassador to the United States:

July 21, 1938.

His Excellency

Senor Dr. Don Francisco Castillo Najera
Mexican Ambassador.

Excellency:

During recent years the Government of the United States has upon repeated occasions made representations to the Government of Mexico with regard to the continuing expropriation by Your Excellency's government of agrarian properties owned by American citizens, without adequate, effective and prompt compensation being made therefor.

In extenuation of such action, the Mexican Government has adverted to the fact that it is earnestly endeavoring to carry forward a program for the social betterment of the masses of its people.

The real issue under discussion between our two governments is not whether Mexico should pursue social and economic policies designed to improve the standard of living of its people (but) whether in pursuing them the property of American nationals may be taken by the Mexican Government without making prompt payment of just compensation to the owner in accordance with the universally recognized rules of law and equity.

My government has frequently asserted the right of all nations to determine their own social, agrarian and industrial problems. This right includes the sovereign right of any government to expropriate private property within its borders in furtherance of public purposes. The Government of the United States has itself been . . . carrying out the most far-reaching program for the improvement of the general standard of living that this country has ever seen.

Under this program it has expropriated from foreigners as well as its own citizens properties of various kinds. . . In each and every case the Government of the United States has scrupulously observed the universally recognized principle of compensation and has reimbursed promptly and in

cash the owners of the properties that have been expropriated.

Since the right of compensation is unquestioned under international law, it cannot be conceived that insistence on it by this government should impair in any way the warm friendship which exists between the Government of Mexico and our own.

Agrarian appropriations began in Mexico in 1915. Up to Aug. 30, 1927, 161 moderate-sized properties of American citizens had been taken. The claims arising therefrom were after much discussion referred to the general claims commission established by agreement between the two governments. . . . As yet . . . not a single claim has been adjusted and none has been paid. The owners of these properties, notwithstanding the repeated requests of this government for settlement, lost their property, its use and proceeds, from eleven years to more than twenty years ago, and are still seeking redress.

Subsequent to 1927, additional properties, chiefly farms of a moderate size, with a value of \$10,132,388, have been expropriated by the Mexican Government. This figure . . . refers to the moderate-sized holdings which rendered only a modest living. None of them as yet has been paid for.

On the basis of the record above stated, the United States Government cannot be accused of being unreasonable or impatient. This latter group of cases has been in the past few years the subject of frequent representations by my government. On March 27 of this year it inquired of your government what specific action with respect to payment was contemplated. On April 19 the Mexican Government responded, expressing its willingness to make a small monthly payment as settlement for a small number of agrarian claims of American nationals in one locality in Mexico.

You reiterated to this department, on May 26 last, substantially what the Government of Mexico had already stated . . . On July 15 Your Excellency sent a further communication to this government . . . stating that the Government of Mexico "has not contemplated covering entirely, during the present Presidential term, the amount of properties expropriated; much less has it undertaken, nor can it undertake, to proceed in such manner."

In result, the American owners whose properties have been taken are left not only

without present payment, but without assurance that payment will be made within any foreseeable time.

The taking of property without compensation . . . is confiscation. It is no less confiscation because there may be an expressed intent to pay at some time in the future.

If it were permissible for a government to take the private property of the citizens of other countries and pay for it as and when, in the judgment of that government, its economic circumstances and its local legislation may perhaps permit, the safeguards which the constitutions of most countries and established international law have sought to provide would be illusory.

Nor can we admit that any government unilaterally and through its municipal legislation can, as in this instant case, nullify this universally accepted principle of international law.

We are entirely in sympathy with the desires of the Mexican Government for the social betterment of its people. We cannot accept the idea, however, that these plans can be carried forward at the expense of our citizens, any more than we would feel justified in carrying forward our plans for social betterment at the expense of the citizens of Mexico.

The Government of the United States, therefore, proposes that there be submitted to arbitration the question whether there has been compliance by the Government of Mexico with the rule of compensation as prescribed by international law in the case of the American citizens whose farms and agrarian properties in Mexico have been expropriated by the Mexican Government since Aug. 30, 1927, and if not, the amount of, and terms under which, compensation should be made by the Government of Mexico.

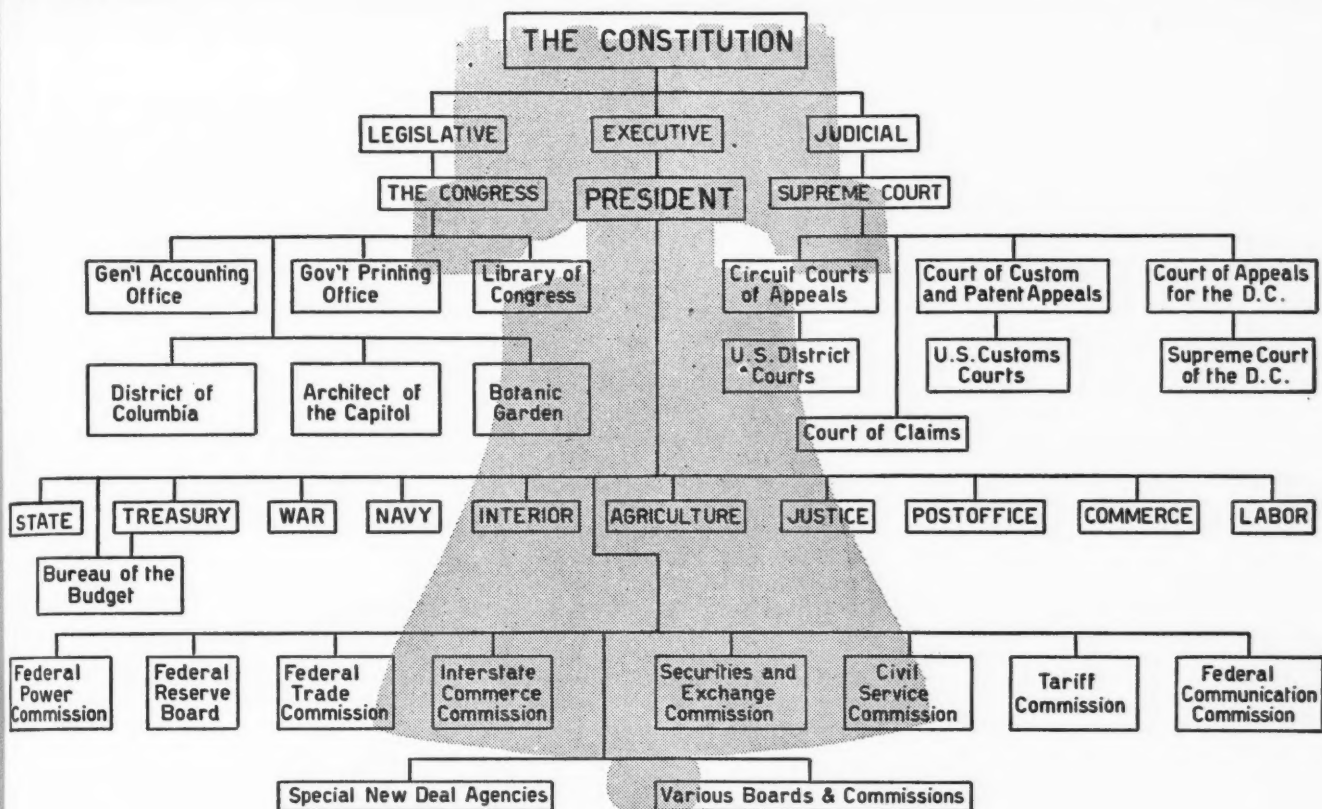
My government proposes that this arbitration be carried out pursuant to the provisions of the General Treaty of Arbitration signed at Washington Jan. 5, 1929, to which both our countries are parties.

CORDELL HULL.

Mexico's reply, received by U. S. Ambassador to Mexico Josephus Daniels:

Mr. Ambassador:

My government maintains that no principle, universally accepted in theory nor realized in practice, is found in interna-



—From "Our Country, Our People and Theirs" by M. E. Tracy

Structure of the U. S. Government

tional law which makes obligatory the payment of immediate compensation, for expropriations of a general and impersonal character, such as those which Mexico has carried out in effecting the redistribution of land.

I wish to draw your attention, very especially, to the fact that the agrarian reform is not only one aspect of a program of social betterment embarked upon by a government or a political group in order to try new doctrines, but is also the most important fulfillment of the demands of the Mexican people who sacrificed the very lives of their sons in the revolution to achieve this end. The political, social and economic stability and the peace of Mexico depend upon the land's being placed anew in the hands of the peasants who work it; therefore, its distribution, which came to imply the transformation—that is to say, the future—of the nation, could not be halted by the impossibility of immediate payment of the value of the properties belonging to a small number of foreigners who seek only lucrative ends.

On the one hand, are weighed the conquests of justice and the uplift of an entire people, and on the other hand, the purely pecuniary interests of certain individuals. The position of Mexico in (this) unequal dilemma could not be other than the one she has assumed, and this is not stated as an excuse for her actions but as a true justification thereof.

The enumeration made by your government in the note under reference of the social reforms recently realized in the United States shows the extent of present day demands for a fundamental readjustment in methods of government, for a few years ago such reforms would not have been approved nor even, perhaps, tolerated. If your gov-

ernment has been in a position to pay compensation forthwith, this merely indicates that its economic situation permitted it; but it certainly could not have postponed or abandoned those reforms even had its economic situation not been good.

Mexico admits, in obedience to her own laws, that she is bound to make adequate indemnification; but the doctrine Mexico maintains in the premises, upheld by the most authoritative opinions of writers on international law, is that the time and manner of such payment should be determined by her own laws.

My government desires to make it clear that when it decided to suspend the payment of the agrarian debt in the year 1930, the measure affected equally Mexicans and foreigners.

The republics of our continent have let their voices be heard since the first Pan-American conferences, vigorously maintaining the principle of equality between nationals and foreigners, considering that the foreigner who voluntarily moved to a country which is not his own, in search of personal benefit, admits in advance with the advantages which he is going to enjoy, the risks to which he may find himself exposed.

Mexico has never refused to submit her international differences to the jurisdiction of a court to judge her actions or her attitudes with regard to aliens, nor has she objected to the decisions which have been unfavorable to her. Notwithstanding this, she considers that arbitration should be reserved, as the Washington treaty itself provides, for cases of irreconcilable differences. This is not so in the present case, for while it is true that Mexico does not consider the payment of indemnity for properties which the State expropriates for causes of public utility an invariable and universal rule of

international law, it is also true that Article XXVI of the Constitution orders the payment in such cases, and for that reason, the Mexican Government has never denied the obligation. No subject exists, therefore, for the arbitration proposed.

I permit myself to invite the government of Your Excellency to name a representative who, together with the representative we will designate, will fix, within a short period, the value of the properties affected and the manner of paying it, which my government considers the execution in part of a joint plan for compliance with her obligations in this respect, in favor of both nationals and foreigners.

The Government of Mexico is ready to begin at once the discussion of the terms of this arrangement.

EDUARDO HAY,
(Minister of Foreign Affairs.)

Department of Justice

Statement by Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, chief of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice:

Group Health Association, Inc., was organized in the District of Columbia a year ago by 2,500 government employees, principally from the lower-salary classes, to provide prepaid medical care at a cost which the members could afford to pay. This group retained its own physicians, who have undertaken to provide the members with virtually complete medical care. The Medical Society of the District of Columbia, the American Medical Association, and some of the officials of both these organizations, are attempting to prevent this association from functioning. The methods they have used are:

1. Threatened expulsion from the District Medical Society of doctors who accept employment with Group Health Association. Because of the Power and standing of the Medical Society, and the stigma sometimes attached to expulsion from it, this causes Group Health Association great difficulty in employing competent physicians.

2. Threatened expulsion from the Medical Society of doctors who take part in medical consultation with doctors on the Group Health Association staff. This, in effect, amounts to forcing members of the Medical Society to participate in an illegal boycott of Group Health Association doctors.

3. The exclusion from Washington hospitals of the Group Health Association staff doctors. This has been accomplished either in combination with the various hospitals or by means of influence, which may or may not have amounted to coercion upon them. This exclusion has made it impossible for doctors affiliated with Group Health Association to practice their profession in the hospitals, and it has prevented members of the association who enter the hospitals as patients from having the services of the physician of their own choice.

In the opinion of the Department of Justice, this is a violation of the anti-trust laws because it is an attempt on the part of one group of physicians to prevent qualified doctors from carrying on their calling and to prevent members of Group Health Association from selecting physicians of their own choice.

The Department interprets the law as prohibiting combinations which prevent others from competing for services as well as goods. The particular persons responsible for this violation can only be ascertained by a grand jury investigation. Such an investigation will be undertaken by the department in the near future.

Although this proceeding concerns especially the District of Columbia, it is selected because its importance is nation-wide and its value as a precedent is of far-reaching consequence on one of our most pressing problems. The illegal activities of organized medicine in this instance are typical of what has occurred in other cities throughout the country whenever cooperative health groups have been formed.

In spite of great technical proficiency, the medical profession has not been successful in furnishing adequate medical care to all the American people at a cost that they can afford to pay. Careful studies have demonstrated that the individual practitioner, even though he devotes a portion of his time to charitable work, cannot supply all the medical needs of persons of low or moderate incomes.

Primarily this is not, of course, the fault of the doctor. It is a result of the low incomes of a large part of the community on the one hand, and of the increasing cost of adequate medical treatment on the other.

Recent studies by government technicians have brought out the fact that forty million persons in the United States in families with annual incomes of less than \$800 cannot pay for medical care, and in many cases do not receive it when they are in need of it.

For instance, at least half of the present toll of mothers' deaths in child-bearing, and of infants in the first month of life, are pre-

ventable with proper pre-natal care and medical services in delivery. Half the babies born annually in this country are in families with less than \$1,000 incomes a year. It is therefore significant that infant mortality is five times higher in families with less than \$500 a year than it is in families with \$3,000 or more a year.

Acute illness of all kinds increases as one goes down the income scale. It is 47 per cent more prevalent in families on relief than in those with \$3,000 or more annual income. Chronic illnesses are 70 per cent more prevalent in relief families; non-relief families of less than \$1,000 income have twice the illness disability of families with more than \$1,000.

In any one year, 10 per cent of the families bear 41 per cent of the costs of illness. Another 32 per cent of the families bear 41 per cent of the costs, while the remaining 58 per cent of the families bear only 18 per cent of the costs.

The same family may not stay in the same sickness group year after year. The incidence of serious illness is extremely uneven among persons of the same income. That is the reason advanced for cooperative methods of payment for medical care; by spreading the cost over the whole membership, these methods provide adequate service to all at the cost of a moderate and uniform charge to each.

This type of organization is already familiar in the United States in dealing with hospital charges, and has proved highly successful. Group hospital plans on a cooperative basis are in force in over sixty cities, and cover more than 1,500,000 subscribers.

The Department of Justice is not in a position to decide whether or not cooperative health associations are a proper solution. Its function is rather to prevent artificial impediments by organized groups who desire to escape competition from the various attempts which may be made from time to time to bring down the cost of medical care.

The Sherman act is a means of keeping a competitive situation open so that those who can offer services at less cost are not impeded by agreements, boycotts, blacklists, expulsions from societies or organized activities of any character.

The evidence revealed by the present investigation appears to warrant submission to a grand jury for such action as that body may determine to be necessary. Such a course is in line with the ordinary practice of the department when it has information indicating that there have been violations of the criminal provisions of the law.

The Department of Justice again emphasizes that it is not deciding what are the proper methods of solving the problems of medical economics or, indeed, whether cooperative health associations have a place among those methods. It simply takes the position that monopoly practices should not be employed to prevent what may be illuminating experiments in this field.

No combination or conspiracy can be allowed to limit a doctor's freedom to arrange his practice as he chooses as long as by therapeutic standards his methods are approved and do not violate the law. Organized medicine should not be allowed to extend its necessary and proper control over standards having to do with the science and

art of medicine, to include control over methods of payment for services involving the economic freedom and welfare for consumers and the legal rights of individual doctors.

There should be free and fair competition between new forms of organization for medical service and older types of medical practice, without the use of organized coercion or illegal restraint on either side. If the newer forms of organization should result in inferior stands of therapy, as is feared by their medical opponents, that fact can be revealed only by experiment.

Federal Trade Commission

Recommending an amendment to the Clayton Act to make illegal the acquisition by large corporations of the stock or assets of competing corporations, the Federal Trade Commission makes public its completed report on its agricultural implement and machinery investigation, conducted in response to a joint Congressional resolution (Public Resolution No. 130, otherwise known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 277, 74th Congress, 2d Session). The entire report has been transmitted to Congress and will be printed as House Document No. 702.

Pointing to a concentration of control in the farm machinery industry in the hands of a few large companies, the report shows that this has been a result of (1) acquisition of the capital stock or of the assets of competitors prior to enactment of the Clayton Act and (2) purchase of assets of competitors rather than of their capital stock since such enactment.

General conclusions with respect to the farm machinery and implement industry are as follows:

The unsatisfactory situation with respect to this industry, from the public and consumer standpoint, is due primarily to the inadequate results achieved regarding the International Harvester dissolution case under the Sherman Act and to the inadequacy of Section 7 of the Clayton Act. The facts in the harvester case disclosed that the Harvester combination (a group of formerly competing companies) owned a major portion of the harvester industry; that because of such dominant position, the International Harvester combination, from and after its organization in 1902, was able to establish the prices for the harvester machinery industry; and that after subsequent acquisitions by International Harvester Company and Deere & Co., of manufacturers of other implements necessary to complete their full lines of machinery and implements, these two companies were enabled to establish and actually have established the price levels for a great majority of agricultural implements and machinery.

The fact that the International Harvester Company does not control as high a percentage of the production of certain farm implements and machines as it did 20 years ago is not proof of the existence of free and open competition in this industry. Any decline in the percentage of harvesting machine production controlled by the International Harvester Company has been offset by increased control in other lines.

Among factors indicating serious monopolistic conditions in the industry are:

(1) The dominant position of the International Harvester Company.

(2) A large advance in the great majority of farm machinery prices as compared with the prices of other manufactured products since the origin of the International Harvester Company.

(3) Profits of the International Harvester Company.

(4) A high degree of rigidity in farm machinery prices during the depression.

(5) A swift rebound of most farm machinery prices after the three severest years of the depression, 1931, 1932 and 1933, to levels exceeding those of 1929, one of the years of highest prices in the history of this industry, and in industry generally.

(6) International's ability to make more net profits in 1937 (a year of business recovery) than it did in 1929 (the peak year for national income and general business prosperity) despite the fact that cash income of the farmer in 1937 was approximately 18 per cent less than in 1929; and the raising of this company's farm machinery prices in 1938 over those of 1937 in the face of the company's remarkable earnings in the latter year.

(7) The character of the International Harvester Company's business operations during the depression when there was only a relatively slight percentage of decline in its farm machinery prices but a sharp percentage decline in its volume of production and employment as contrasted with the conduct of industries known to be competitive where the percentage in the decline of prices was greater and the decline in production and employment were less.

(8) Exchange of price lists among farm machinery manufacturers.

(9) Evidence of dealer coercion.

STIPULATIONS TO CEASE AND DESIST

Forty-two stipulations to cease and desist from unfair representations in the sale of specified commodities by the companies or individuals named have been approved by the Federal Trade Commission, as follows:

Betty Wales Shops, New York; women's wearing apparel.

Blon-Tone Laboratories, Los Angeles; Blone-Tone, a hairbleaching product.

Winsor Manufacturing Company, Inc., Woonsocket, R. I.; handkerchiefs.

Consolidated Sales Company, Washington, D. C.; automobile tires, heaters, etc.

Duplex Fabrics Corporation, New York; Klassic Kool, a fabric.

Ludwig Baumann, New York; women's wearing apparel.

Mills Sales Company, Chicago; drug sundries, pharmaceutical products, perfumes, etc.

Continental Optical Company, Indianapolis, and others; spectacle frames and lenses.

Philco Radio and Television Corporation, Philadelphia; Philco radios and radio equipment.

Zenith Radio Corporation, Chicago; Zenith radios and radio equipment.

Elgin Silversmith Company, Inc., New York; hollow-ware.

Nyal Service Drug Stores Corporation, Detroit; Nyal Antacid Powder, for stomach trouble.

Marvo-Ker Institute, New York; Marvo-Ker, a shampoo.

New Health Laboratories, East Aurora, N. Y.; Toxelim, a laxative.

Dobbs Company, Ligonier, Pa.; Eveta, a food product.

4-5-6 Company, Highland, Ill.; 4-5-6 Mineral Mix, livestock feed.

Import Oil Corporation, New York; Gemma (Gem) Oil, a food product.

Paul Westphal, Inc., New York; preparations for the hair.

Mayfair Publishing Company, New York; correspondence course in piano playing.

Cherner Motor Company, Washington, D. C.; automobiles.

Modern Health Products Supply Company, Milwaukee; Health Mine Juice Extractor and a health booklet.

Colfanite Products Company, Inc., Seattle; a finish.

3XB Corporation, New York; 3XB, for skin disorders.

Andrew Jergens Company, Cincinnati; Jergen's Lotion, a toilet preparation.

Samuel B. McKee School of Modern Piano, Hollywood, Calif.; correspondence course in piano playing.

Vit Sales Corporation, Minneapolis, and others; Vit Sunshine Oil Shampoo.

Dorothea Cosmetics, Hynes, Calif.; Turtle Oil Tissue Cream.

Daggett & Ramsdell, New York; Elorda Cream, Golden Cleansing Cream, and Elorda Revitalizer Cream, cleansing creams.

Robert Burns Hospital Laboratories, Chicago; Wham, for alcoholism, headaches, nausea, etc.

Justrite Manufacturing Company, Chicago; Justrite Soldering Iron and Blow Torch.

National Bellas Hess, Inc., Kansas City, Mo.; reducing girdle and sport form belt.

National Watch Company, Waltham, Mass.; watches.

Elite Social Correspondence Register, Los Angeles; lists of matrimonial eligibles.

Ho-Ro-Co. Manufacturing Company, St. Louis; household necessities, cosmetics and medicinal preparations.

Galenol Company, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.; Smith's Worm Oil, a treatment for worms.

Gas-No Company, Knoxville, Tenn.; Mason's Gas-No Tonic, for indigestion, kidney trouble, rheumatism, etc.

Hancock Manufacturing Company, Chicago; Meter Master, a mechanical device alleged to reduce gas bills.

Bessemer Chemical Company, New York; Bes-to-Lax, a laxative, Bes-to-Kelp, a tonic, and Peppermint Tea, a beverage. Barbo Manufacturing Company, New York; Barbo Compound, a preparation for the hair.

Affiliated Products, Inc., Chicago; Delica Brow, for the eyebrows.

Royal Diamond & Watch Co., Inc., New York; diamond rings and watches.

L. L. Coryell & Son, Inc., Lincoln, Nebr., and others; Coryell 70 Super Gasoline and Coryell 70 Motor Oil.

Maritime Commission

Organization of the United States Maritime Service under which it is proposed to establish immediately a training school for seamen on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and eventually on the Gulf Coast, has been announced by Emory S. Land, Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission in making public the details of a preliminary program developed by the Commission to provide a "trained and efficient personnel" for the ships of the American Merchant Marine in accordance with the policy and terms of the Merchant Marine Act.

It is planned to have the United States Coast Guard administer the training courses of the new Maritime Service under the supervision of the Maritime Commission, and that negotiations having this objective are now in progress between the Treasury Department and the Maritime Commission. The

Questions and Answers

Answers on Page 62

- Who is Wilbert Lee O'Daniel?
- Approximately what is the deficit which President Roosevelt recently predicted for the United States Government for 1939?
- What American colonial official was recently a target for a wood-be assassin's bullets?
- Did the Mexican government accept Secretary Hull's proposal to arbitrate the seizure of American-owned lands in Mexico?
- The United States has had five major wars with foreign countries; name four.
- What republic was annexed to the United States just prior to the War with Mexico?
- Is Czechoslovakia a kingdom or a republic?
- Is Yugoslavia a kingdom or a republic?
- Who is king of Yugoslavia?
- What essential fuel does Rumania produce in large quantities?
- Would you say that Rumania produces more, or less, oil than Mexico?
- What proportion of the world's oil would you say is produced in the United States?
- Who is President of the General Motors Corporation?
- What musical composition by Maurice Ravel was inspired by the noise of manufacturing?
- What two republics occupy the island of Haiti?
- What is the official language of the Republic of Haiti?
- Haiti is one of the four largest islands of the West Indies. Name the other three.
- Is it true that Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli are French colonies?
- With what product is the name "Morocco" associated?
- Does any country in Africa enjoy complete independence?

Coast Guard had been chosen by the Commission to do this work because its record extending over many years of turning out the best merchant seamen in the world.

Congress at its last session authorized the Maritime Commission to set up the United States Maritime Service as a voluntary organization for the training of American seamen who have served on ships. In this regard, Chairman Land emphasized that the new service does not represent the broad training program for the merchant marine on which Congress has ordered the Commission to present a report, with recommendations, in January.

The seamen's training school on the Atlantic Coast will be located on Hoffman and Swineburne Islands in New York Harbor. The Pacific Coast school will be situated at Government Island at Oakland, California. Later it is planned to establish a training school for merchant marine officers at the old Coast Guard base at Fort Trumbull at New London, Connecticut. Meanwhile, the Commission is attempting to find a suitable site for the Gulf Coast school.

The new Maritime Service schools, it is estimated, will provide training facilities for about 3,000 seamen and 300 officers, annually.

In addition to shore training, practical training afloat will be provided by the Maritime Service. For this purpose the Commission intends to use the 8,000-ton cargo vessel "Edgemoor," now anchored in the Government's laid-up fleet at New Orleans, as a training ship.

National Resources Committee

The United States will reach its population peak within fifty years with a maximum of approximately 158,000,000, according to the National Resources Committee from its Committee on Population Problems which was transmitted to President Roosevelt. After this peak is reached, unless growth is accelerated by a changed immigration policy, a period of slow population decrease is predicted.

With a population of 158,000,000 within fifty years set as a maximum, the Committee also gives a minimum estimate putting the population peak at 139,000,000 in 1955 with a decrease of 10,000,000 during the following quarter century.

In general, the Committee sees no cause for alarm in the impending cessation of population growth, but suggests that the anticipated trend during the next half century may offer an opportunity for working out better human relations.

Changes in age distribution are accompanying the trend in total population. The report estimates that in 40 years there will be an approximately equal number of persons—about two million—at each year of age from birth to 60 years. This estimate is based on medium assumptions as regards births and deaths and with no allowance for immigration. It is predicted there will be a smaller number of persons at the later ages but they will form a much larger proportion of the total than at present.

Discussing the effect on the Nation of a transition from an increasing to a stationary population the report says:

"It may on the whole be beneficial rather than injurious to the life of the Nation. It insures the continuance of a favorable ratio of population to natural resources in the United States. Each citizen of this country will continue to have, on the average, a larger amount of arable land, minerals and other natural resources at his disposal than the citizen of any of the countries of the Old World. This supplies the material basis for a high level of living, if these resources are used wisely and if cultural conditions are stimulating to initiative and cooperative endeavor."

Department of Agriculture

Approximately \$54,000,000 was expended during the 1937-1938 fiscal year for diversion from regular commercial channels of price-depressing surpluses of agricultural products, according to a preliminary report released by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Included were the purchase of over 40 different agricultural commodities for subsequent distribution to State welfare agencies, and the operation of 18 diversion programs for developing new uses, encouraging new domestic markets and exports for farm products.

The purchases of commodities distributed for relief use by the welfare agencies were made by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation to remove surpluses and to help farmers improve selling conditions. Over \$45,500,000 was spent for this purpose, and more than one billion pounds of foodstuffs were procured.

Products bought by the Corporation during the 1937-38 fiscal year were made available to the States for distribution to families certified to be on relief. An average of over 2 million families a month received the products. The State welfare agencies were required to give the commodities to these families only as an addition to supplies which they already were receiving from other sources or were able to buy. This requirement aimed at effecting a net increase in consumption and contributing toward a more adequate diet.

The operation of diversion programs for developing new uses and encouraging new domestic markets and exports for agricultural surpluses took slightly more than \$8,500,000 of the funds available to the Secretary of Agriculture during the 1937-38 fiscal year.

All of the programs for diverting surplus farm products either by purchase or other methods, operate under the provisions of section 32 of the 1935 amendments to the Agricultural Adjustment Act. This section makes available to the Secretary of Agriculture an amount equal to 30 per cent of annual customs receipts for surplus removal operations to encourage domestic consumption by purchases for relief use and for developing new uses and encouraging domestic and foreign markets. Of the \$54,000,000 expended for surplus removal operations during the 1937-38 fiscal year, approximately \$50,500,000 was derived from funds made available to the Secretary of Agriculture under provisions of section 32, and slightly over \$3,500,000 came from funds turned over to the Federal Surplus Commodities Cor-

poration by its predecessor, the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation.

Section 32 funds for the 1937-38 fiscal year amounted to slightly over \$125,000,000, a portion of which was earmarked by Congress for cotton price adjustment payments and other uses.

For the 1938-39 fiscal year, the Secretary of Agriculture will have around \$79,000,000 available for surplus removal and diversion operations since part of the section 32 funds for the current fiscal year again was set aside for cotton price adjustment payments.

Among the surplus commodities bought during the 1937-38 fiscal year for distribution to relief families were the following:

Over 4,300,000 bushels of white potatoes; 21,500,000 pounds of dry skim milk; 15,000,000 pounds of butter; 3,400,000 pounds of American cheese; 39,900,000 pounds of whole wheat cereal; 73,100,000 pounds of rice, etc.

Department of the Interior

Federal development of the vast hydroelectric resources of the Columbia River has at last become a reality. After five years of intensive construction activity, the initial power from Bonneville Dam has been delivered to two nearby cities.

At a signal from Administrator J. D. Ross, power from the 43,200 kilowatt generators surged north and south into the towns of Cascade Locks, Oregon, and North Bonneville, Washington. Lighting displays flashed on the main streets of the two communities, and each celebrated the distinction of being the first city in the State to enjoy the low-cost power generated at the navigation and hydroelectric project on the Columbia River.

Both Cascade Locks and North Bonneville will pay for the power at the rate of \$17.50 per kilowatt-year, which is the uniform wholesale charge for electricity everywhere on a broad federal network. The projected transmission system includes nearly a thousand miles of high tension lines, extending westward to the Oregon and Washington coasts, and eastward into those States toward Idaho.

Lines contemplated for the distribution of Bonneville power would extend to the huge federal project at Grand Coulee, and to Yakima, Wenatchee, Pasco, Vancouver, Kelso and Aberdeen in the State of Washington. Oregon cities to be on the initial circuits include Portland, Oregon City, Salem, Eugene, Albany, Hood River, The Dalles, Pendleton, Umatilla and others. From these cities lines would radiate to serve surrounding territory.

At Cascade Locks citizens are looking forward to the establishment of a sodium chlorate plant, the product of which will be used for destroying noxious weeds. Residents of North Bonneville are anticipating development of electro-metallurgical industries to use high grade iron and other ores native to the Pacific Northwest. At both cities customers running their lines to the power plant will get a special "bus bar" rate of \$14.50 per kilowatt-year for primary power, and \$9.50 per kilowatt-year for secondary power. For continuous users, a combination of the two rates will result in a price of about a mill and a half per kilowatt-hour.

The Religious Horizon

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

RUSSIAN Communism is admittedly and boastfully atheistic. German Nazism is sponsoring such a persecution of religious leaders as history has not seen for centuries. But what about Italy and the Fascists? What is their attitude towards the Church and religion?

Benito Mussolini's recent book *Fascism, Its Doctrine and Principles*, which was distributed to listeners free by the Italian broadcasting authorities, contains, on page 33, under article 12 on "The Fascist State and Religion," the following statement:

"The Fascist State does not remain indifferent to the nature of religion in general, and to that specially positive religion represented by Italian Catholicism. The State has no theology but it has a moral system. In the Fascist State, religion is regarded as one of the deepest expressions of the spirit, and consequently it is also not only esteemed, but also defended and protected. The Fascist State does not create its own special 'God,' as Robespierre for a long time wanted to do in the most violent frenzy of the Convention, neither does Fascism vainly endeavor to efface religion from the soul, as Bolshevism does. Fascism respects the God of the ascetic, of the saint, of the hero, and also the God conceived and worshipped by the pious and simple heart of the people."

This statement, coming from Mussolini himself, must be accepted at its face value, especially, since there is no evidence to the contrary. The income of the Church in Italy is not so large as it once was, and the full share of education is no longer in the hands of the clergy, but, on the whole, especially as compared with other dictator ruled countries, the Church in Italy has nothing about which to complain.

ONE wonders just what lies ahead for Christianity in the Orient. E. Stanley Jones, in a recent letter, made the following statement, which should carry deep significance to the missionary programs of all Christian Churches:

"I have just come out of war-torn

China, where I found the heart of the educated youth wide open to receive the Christian truth. I have just been in Singapore, Manila, and Rangoon, where the doors of evangelism stand wide open. Now I am back in India and I feel once more the pulsing of this great movement of the sixty million outcastes struggling for social, economic and spiritual freedom. In the face of all this I am solemnly convinced that, if ever the Christian Church should awake and arise to enter the doors of opportunity, this is the moment. This opportunity may not be ours for long. Forces beyond our control may snatch it way from us. We must struggle on the far-flung frontiers of human need."

One great difference between the Communism of Russia and that of China, is in its attitude toward religion. While the U. S. S. R. is militantly atheistic the Communists of China do not find this an indispensable part of their program. When the Chinese Communists united with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, it was found that a great many of them were regular attendants at some one or another religious service. Perhaps their attitude toward the Church(es) has been revised since they have seen the devotion and loyalty of Christian missionaries of all denominations, who, differing greatly from one another in points of doctrine, Church government, ritual, etc., are maintaining an almost unbroken front in the way in which they are remaining at their posts, feeding the hungry, caring for the sick and ministering to the wounded.

The growth of anti-Semitism in Europe is indicated by the fact that the goal set for 1938 relief funds to be raised by American Jewry is four million dollars more than the total for 1937, \$9,600,000 is the goal for 1938 of which \$5,100,000 is for use on behalf of distressed Jewry in European countries, and \$4,500,000 for use of the Zionist movement and work in Palestine.

THE Draft of a Constitution for a World Council of Churches was adopted unanimously on May 12, by

a body of seventy-five delegates assembled at Utrecht representing most of the largest Protestant denominations of the world, the Eastern Orthodox, the Anglican and the Old Catholic Churches. The Constitution will shortly be submitted to the Churches and upon its adoption by them the World Council will be set up. Preparation for the organization of such a World Council was authorized by the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work at a conference at Oxford last July and by the World Conference on Faith and Order at its meeting at Edinburgh last August.

The Constitution as drafted for submission to the Churches describes the World Council as "a fellowship of Churches which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour."

Among the principal purposes of the Council will be that of carrying on the work of these two organizations, which are to be combined in the World Council. It will also facilitate common action by the Churches, promote co-operation in study and call world or regional conferences on specific subjects for the Churches and will act for them on matters specifically committed to it by them. It will offer counsel and provide opportunity for united action in matters of common interest.

The Constitution provides for an Assembly of not more than 450 members that will meet every five years, and a Central Committee of not more than 90 members to meet every year.

The Conference provided for a provisional committee to carry on all necessary activities in the interim until the World Council of Churches is officially constituted. The Chairman of this Committee of twenty-eight is the Archbishop of York, England; and the following are vice-Chairmen: Pastor Marc Boegner, of Paris, President of the French Protestant Federation; Archbishop Germanos of London, Metropolitan of Thyateira; and John R. Mott of New York, Chairman of the International Missionary Council. Pastor Boegner will serve as the Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Provisional Committee.

THEY SAY

Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

England Expects Every American . . .

Actually, one of the very oddest sides of a very odd period of diplomacy has been Britain's apparent willingness to let American relations look after themselves. One would have thought the inevitable corollary of letting Europe go hang would be a determined effort to get straight with the U. S. A. True, we are now trying to buy American aeroplanes. But why not follow the Irish settlement with a debt settlement with the United States? Perhaps that is coming? In any case, I hear from one visitor after another about the devastating effect of our apparent fondness for Fascist dictators, and we do not seem to do much on the wireless to counteract the bad impression. I have just seen an interesting letter from the United States, expressing deep gratitude for a present of *The New Statesman and Nation*, which, the writer remarks, is particularly valuable because the news provided for the American public by the British wireless consists of very carefully edited and compressed news about Europe, very full information about the United States, culled from American commentators, and detailed reports about the English weather!

I think it is the title that has made the American public so excited about Quincy Howe's *England Expects Every American to do His Duty* (now published in Britain at 8s. 6d. by Robert Hale). It is a good title, neatly fitting the isolationist mood that blames Britain for dragging America into the war. (It goes deeper than that too; it touches off that irritable spot so many Americans have about England—a spot that always reacts to any suggestion that English people may still feel themselves in some way "superior" because of their age, public schools, cathedrals, ruins and what not.) Considered as a book it seems to me to botch a fine thesis. The thesis should be that certain groups of American and British capital work closely together and have a great deal of power; that these interests natur-

ally made for American cooperation with Britain in the last war and have often made for cooperation since (though they often failed to achieve it), and that if there is to be American-British cooperation it would be well to ground it on something more stable than the interests of the House of Morgan or the Northcliffe war propaganda which has acted as a boomerang ever since. But Mr. Howe cannot see it like that; he lives in a Hollywood world of plots and sin-



—Cardiff South Wales Echo
The World's Champion Juggler

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—Critic, in *The New Statesman and Nation*, London

England Expects . . .

The International Federation of Trade Unions (Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Russia, Holland) presented a plan to the council of the A. F. of L. for drastic financial and economic embargo against Japan. This was turned down by the A. F. of L. and at first sight it would appear that this was just another reactionary step, but the A. F. of L. detected the joker in the proposal. It read "An explicit guarantee of mutual aid from the United States of America, Great Britain, the Dominions, the U. S. S. R.,

France and the Netherlands in the event of a Japanese attack upon the armed forces or the territories of any of the participants would be an indispensable condition of concerted action." Sir Walter Citrine, who is president of the I. F. T. U., is also on very friendly terms with the British Foreign Office and at first severely frowned on a trade boycott of Japan. No doubt he was convinced by the Foreign Office that this new proposal was first impracticable on account of the "joker" and secondly if successful it would constitute the first step to involve the U. S. in defense of Hong Kong and Singapore. But if this policy failed, England's greatest naval victory since Trafalgar was won and was hailed as such in the English press when Roosevelt laid plans for a bigger and better navy.

—*The Canadian Forum*

What!

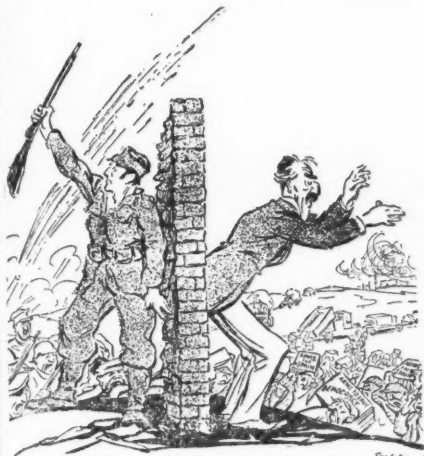
When Arthur Balfour launched his scheme for peopling Palestine with Jewish immigrants, I am credibly informed that he did not know that there were Arabs in the country.

—Dean Inge in *Evening Standard*, London

Roasting Chestnuts

There is a curious concatenation of circumstances in the fact that diplomatic relations between Britain and Mexico should have been broken off just at a moment when reports, so far unconfirmed, have spoken of plans to attempt a counter-revolution under the leadership of General Cedillo. True, the Mexican Government took the initiative in recalling its Minister from London; but the step was taken under considerable provocation. Not content with impugning the impartiality of the Mexican Supreme Court in the bellicose Note delivered on the subject of Mexican Eagle oil properties, the British Government, in a Note last week peremptorily demanding payment of an overdue installment of £18,000 in respect of 1910-20 damage claims, appears to have lectured Mexico somewhat magisterially on the subject of indebtedness, internal as well as ex-

ternal. There is no reason to suspect Whitehall of deliberately fomenting a Fascist rising against President Cardenas; but it is an open secret that such a development would be looked on with favour in the City, even if a successful counter-revolution meant one more recruit for the Berlin-Rome "Axis." It would, however, be highly unwelcome in Washington, where Britain's domineering attitude towards Mexico is regarded with some misgiving. In American eyes, as President



—London Daily Herald

They Shall Not Pass

Cardenas has acidly observed, Britain—with no better excuse than Mexico—is a defaulter in regard to external obligations. Whatever Wall Street's views might be, Mr. Roosevelt has no desire to see European capitalists picking chestnuts out of the Mexican fire at the cost of bringing Fascism up to the Texas border.

—The New Statesman and Nation, London

Before God

Mrs. C. E. Chennells, chairman of Dunstable Women's Liberal Association, was in earnest when, at the annual meeting on Thursday, she appealed for a recruiting drive.

"I am so serious," she said, "that I feel that even before we owe our duty to God we owe our duty to our town and our country."

—Suton News, England

Such Luck

Presentation at Court.... It means taking part, if for only a second, in the multi-coloured pageantry of British history. It means joining, if only for a moment, the brilliant procession of men and women on whom a British King has smiled.

—Sunday Express, London

Feeling Poorly

The residence of Rocco Perri was bombed last night shortly before ten o'clock . . . Debris was scattered for a hundred feet and plaster was blown from walls inside the house . . . "I was at a drug store on York Street," Perri declared. "I had a headache and was taking a bromo. When I got home I saw this mess. Now I don't feel any better."

—Toronto Daily Star

Canadian Credo: I. Anglo-Saxon

THE ARTS

All artists are immortal.

The Great Canadian Novel will deal with the United Empire Loyalists, the building of the Railroads, or the development of the Great Northwest.

Censorship is rightly based on morality, not on artistic value.

No local artist should be recognized or encouraged until he has made a name in some foreign country.

"Anthony Adverse" and "Gone With the Wind" weigh several pounds and are therefore masterpieces.

MORALS AND CUSTOMS

God meant Sunday to be dull.

If a man wants to drink beer, it is better that he should be made to do so in a crowded, badly-lighted, and poorly-aired room.

It is wicked to play fan-tan or shoot crap, but fun to play the stock market or bet on a horse race.

There is something inherently immoral about the hours after midnight.

CIVIC PRIDE

All Canadian cities are free of the graft and corruption which is ruining the United States.

All other professional sports may be, and probably are, fixed, but not hockey.

The Hauptmann and similar trials were disgraceful, and nothing like them could happen in Canada.

All major crimes are committed by imported gangsters.

THE INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

Hollywood is an immoral place.

All New Yorkers of any importance keep at least one mistress.

There must be *something*, after all, in fortune-telling, teacup-reading, and graphology.

Most unemployed men would not accept work if it were offered to them.

The English stage abounds in actresses, the American stage in chorus girls.

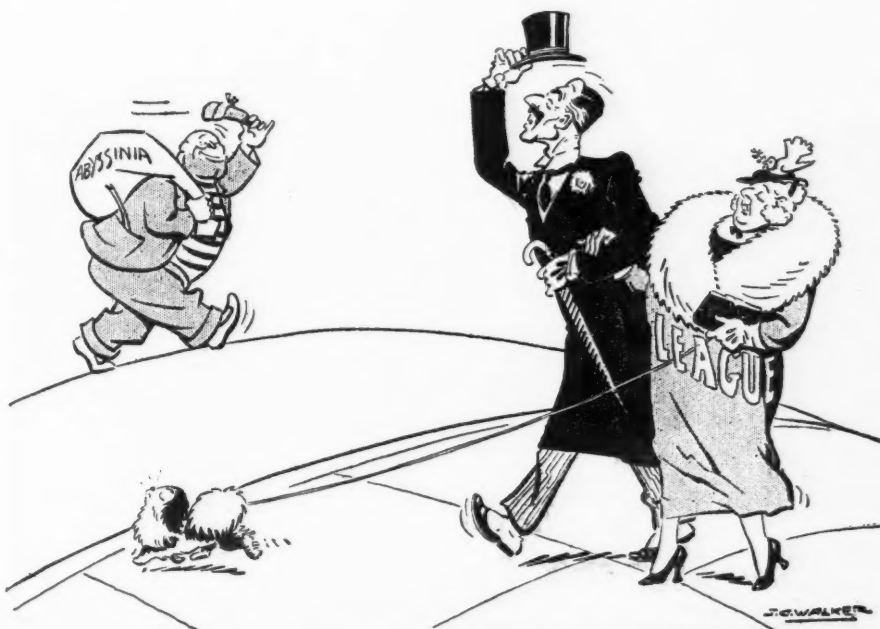
The Canadian temperament is not adaptable to Communism, Socialism, or Fascism.

—K. M.

—The Canadian Forum

Mussolini and Democracy

. . . Whatever one may say this man (Ludlow) is right. Democracy either exists or it does not. The people is sovereign or it is not. In the latter hypothesis it is only a puppet in the hands of plutocrats, capitalists, secret societies and political castes



The Perfect Gentleman

—Cardiff South Wales Echo

which exploit and cheat the people under the pretext of representing it.

If Switzerland, a small but classic democracy, the only country in which this word represents an understandable and respectable reality, if Switzerland has ordered a referendum to find out whether secret societies should be allowed or prohibited, why does the democracy of the United States, which boasts to be the most civilized of the world, not allow its every free citizens to express their opinion on peace or war? Should it be possible that war is considered by the great democracies as an insignificant incident, as a trifle not important enough to trouble the sovereign people?

Ludlow is right. If everything should be the emanation of the popular will, how can democracy withhold from the decision of the popular will an event of such importance as war, which decides on the existence of millions of human beings and the future of the nation? It is mainly on this subject that a sovereign people should be able to express its will. It is here that democracy should be able to show its magnitude. Is per chance the sovereign people sovereign in everything except when its own existence is at stake?

Anti-aircraft artillery exercises are beastly anywhere, but it is difficult to believe that the East Coast has no more "suitable" site for a range than one of the most beautiful stretches of

Norfolk's salt marshes, right up against a bird sanctuary. Yet that is what the War Office is endeavoring to do. It proposes to locate a large gunnery camp on land dear to the botanist for its profusion of wild flowers, and lying between the Stiffkey Valley and the sea. Huts are to be erected, and from May to September the sky over Blakeney Point and the National Trust bird sanctuary is to be rent daily by shells bursting at aerial targets. Gun practice there must doubtless be; but to spoil land for whose preservation as a heritage of beauty special efforts have been made? The War Office and the Air Ministry have displayed a genius for discovering "suitable" situations for their training activities in places whose amenities the nation can least afford to spoil.

—Extract from Mussolini's unsigned editorial in his personal organ, *Popolo d' Italia*, Rome.

Think It Over

"This baby died from starvation due to insufficient and improper feeding. It has died from neglect by others."

This was the coroner's verdict at a Greenwich inquest yesterday on a five-weeks-old baby. . . . Dr. Whitehouse told the mother, a Russian, that she was responsible for the child's death, though he was not saying that she wilfully starved the child. "I don't like Russian people coming here and



—Il 420, Florence

Bolshevist Ideals: "Comrade, we must keep our people suffering. If the proletariat begins to catch on they will become bourgeois and that is the end of Bolshevism."

having illegitimate babies," he added. "I know you are not of superior intelligence, but go home and think over what I have said."

—News Chronicle, London

Nazi Colonial Ambitions

Before the Saar plebiscite, Hitler declared that if once that problem were settled, there would be no longer any serious grounds for differences between the Reich and France. Later he repeated this under different circumstances. By the coup of March 7, 1936, (the occupation of the Rhineland), which France left unanswered, and which undoubtedly caused us irreparable damage, this assertion was utterly refuted. . . . The truth is that the Reich follows gradually, methodically and implacably a plan established a long time ago, namely to scrap the Treaty of Versailles with all its provisions, and to nullify her own defeat. . . . The problem of raw materials, particularly for the war industries, would by no means be solved by colonies. The argument of overpopulation is also worthless. In 1913 German East Africa had only 5,340 Europeans settled on its 995,000 square kilometers. In Cameroon, 1,870, and in Togo, 370. In the most densely populated colonies of Southwest Africa, only 15,000 whites lived on an area of 835,000 square kilometers. The climate has not changed in these twenty years. Why these new demands? A new test of strength? Con-



Becoming a Problem

—Glasgow Record

sideration of prestige? The hidden intention to prevent our recruiting in Africa, if need be? Of course some people may point out that the return of colonies to the Reich will be a guarantee of peace. Haven't we the right, after so many attempts and bitter disillusionments, to be skeptical and ask ourselves what new request we will have to face after this?

So far, all our concessions have only had the result of encouraging new demands, which have become increasingly arrogant. Certain countries are making a mistake if they go too far in offending France's dignity and speculate too much on our desire for peace.

—Louis Rollin (former cabinet Minister) in *L'Epoque*, pro-fascist daily of Henri de Kerillis, Paris.

"How can one explain the passionate demands for colonies by the Hitler Reich? In *Mein Kampf*, Adolf Hitler's book, which has become the Bible of the German nation, the colonization of Europe is set forth as the German program of *revanche*. Have demands for African colonies now been added to those of Pan-Germanism? Well-informed observers do not think so. They are more inclined to the opinion that the Berlin government intends to provoke refusals, perhaps through its theatrical *demarches*, and thus obtain material by which it might justify its action in the Danubian Basin. Unfortunately, Downing street clings to its policy of waiting.

—Pertinax on the deeper significance of German colonial demands, *Echo de Paris*, Paris.

The English Make Me Wild!

What makes me wild about the English is that they don't make me wild. It is somehow a reflection on my judgment that they don't. The trouble is, I like the English. I know I ought to to be horrified by their hypocrisy, angered by their stupidity, and annoyed by their misuse of the American language—but I'm not. Let me say now to the great British public, 'My friends, I forgive you all!'

I can even forgive you for being dirty. I don't mean dirty in your minds. On the whole, the English are not dirty in their minds. Isn't their motto *Honi soit qui mal y pense*? I mean just plain dirty. Sloppy. It's well known that in England you have to get a maid from Austria or at least from Scotland if you want a clean and well-ordered house. In offices, I find,

English people file most things on the floor. And soup-stained table-cloths and dirty silverware are the rule in eating-places up and down the land. Just the other day a waitress bringing me my morning coffee spilled some of it into the saucer and over the saucer on to the tablecloth and me. 'Wait! Wait!' I said. 'It's dripping!' and she said: 'Does it matter?'

There, in three words, you have the English philosophy: 'Does it matter?' And that's where the English have us. Because, if you take a long view, it simply doesn't—nine times out of ten. And that's what I find so disarming, so appealing, so satisfying about the English: their Sense of Proportion.

They don't blow their motor horns in protest against a fifteen-minute traffic block. They wait patiently. They know their time isn't all that valuable. What if they do miss the first act of the play? It will be very much like the first act of a lot of plays, for nowadays in London the plays are all the same old thing, anyhow, except those that come over from New York.

They're so right in all this, the English. What does it matter whether railway trains or B.B.C. programs start on time or end on time? A few minutes one way or the other will make very little difference in a hundred years.

A greater nation of sneerers never walked the earth than the English. They sneer at foreign fashions (and then take them up a couple of years later). They sneer at every diction-

ary except the *Oxford* although that otherwise excellent work actually begins every word in the language with a capital letter! They sneer at Americans for thinking only of business—it's so bad for British trade. They sneer at Australians for talking like Londoners—and at Frenchmen for talking like Frenchmen. They sneer at Italy for her Imperialism, because the British Brand is Best. They sneer at German censorship, and then won't let me say half the things I'd like to say. Yes, indeed, when it comes to sneering, the English can out-sneer anybody anywhere. But it's O.K. with me. There's nothing I like better than a good wholesome sneer. And the English have got to have some defense against outside criticism.

—"An American" in *The Listener*

R. I. P.

Peiping Bao, the oldest newspaper in the world, which has been appearing for 1,500 years, has just been suppressed. This newspaper was founded in 400 A.D. by Sou-Choung, and was printed up to the time of its disappearance with wooden type.

In the course of centuries 1,500 editors of the *Peiping Bao* have been beheaded.

After their occupation of Peking, the Japanese banned this paper. Then they allowed it to appear again, but as the *Peiping Bao* remained faithful to its ancient tradition they have now suppressed it once and for all.

—*L'Ere Nouvelle*, Paris



The Miseries

—Cardiff South Wales Echo

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, July 9 - Aug. 8

THE NATION

The President

- JULY 11—Roosevelt names Governor Allred of Texas to federal bench, furthering his plan for a young judiciary.
- JULY 12—Roosevelt, in revised budget estimate, predicts deficit of nearly \$4,000,000,000 for 1939.
- JULY 14—Roosevelt, in San Francisco speech, offers to join a world disarmament movement.
- JULY 15—Roosevelt appoints Elmer F. Andrews administrator of the new Wage-Hour Law.
- JULY 16—Roosevelt endorses Senator McAdoo for reelection in Los Angeles talk.

State Department

- JULY 15—U. S. challenges Mexican workers' seizure of an American-owned mine.
- JULY 21—Secretary Hull, in a note to Mexico, demands arbitration of land seizures.
- AUG. 3—Mexico rejects Secretary Hull's proposals for arbitration.

Treasury

- JULY 12—Raskob and du Pont lose appeal on taxes. Tax Appeal Board charges "design" in sale of stock to each other in 1929 and 1930.
- JULY 21—Tax on government employees and bonds, and a wider income levy base is being studied by the Treasury, Magill announces.

Judiciary

- JULY 9—Justice Cardozo of U. S. Supreme Court dies at 68 in Port Chester, N. Y.

Relief

- JULY 14—Hopkins orders \$3,000,000 worth of women's coats, expanding his program of relief buying.
- WPA extends pay rises in the South to white-collar workers in eight states. 2,853,354 on WPA rolls in the nation.
- JULY 21—Hopkins adds 200,000 WPA jobs in the South.
- JULY 23—Governor Langer charges pressure on WPA workers in North Dakota. Investigation ordered.
- PWA grants \$122,601,078 for projects. Total of grants reaches \$883,278,068.
- JULY 30—PWA and RFC join in financing a new \$58,000,000 Harrisburg-Pittsburgh "super-highway."
- AUG. 5—Hopkins announces program to give part-time WPA jobs in the South to aid farmers between cotton-picking seasons.

Power

- JULY 12—Ickes makes \$4,500,000 PWA grant for the Santee-Cooper power project in South Carolina.
- JULY 13—Ickes puts power program into effect by approving grants for 21 municipal plants.

JULY 18—A. E. Morgan, on stand before Congressional investigating committee, declares many of his TVA policies were ideas of the President.

JULY 21—Congressional inquiry impounds TVA board's minutes and alterations.

JULY 28—H. A. Morgan, at TVA hearing, defends land purchase giving company \$500,000 profit.

Housing

JULY 13—Straus announces loans totaling \$50,000,000 for 12 municipalities for slum-clearance projects.

JULY 15—Loans totalling \$77,370,000 earmarked for many cities, bringing USHA's commitments to \$504,000,000.

Political Parties

AUG. 5—Republican program committee warns that governmental and economic collapse threatens the nation under the New Deal.

THE STATES

Primaries

JULY 12—Senator Thomas wins renomination in Oklahoma Democratic primary. Senator VanNuys renominated by Indiana Democrats. Paul V. McNutt is hailed for the presidency in 1940.

JULY 22—Senator Adams crushes his opponent, a New Dealer, when Colorado Democrats designate the party slate.

JULY 23—O'Daniel, "hillbilly" candidate for governor, wins Democratic nomination in Texas primary. Maury Maverick, strong New Deal congressman, defeated for renomination by narrow margin.

AUG. 2—Two New Dealers beaten for the House in Virginia primary. Senator Clark renominated in Missouri. "Boss" Pendergast's candidate for judgeship is defeated.

AUG. 4—Crump-McKellar machine beats Governor Browning and Senator Berry in Tennessee.

AUG. 6—Senator Barkley, New Dealer, defeats Governor Chandler for Democratic nomination in Kentucky.

Pennsylvania

JULY 25—Governor Earle asks legislature to repel "judicial invasion" in the State Court's investigation into his regime.

AUG. 2—Legislature, at Earle's request, names board to investigate the charges against the governor.

AUG. 8—Earle laws to stop grand jury investigation declared unconstitutional by the court.

Ohio

AUG. 6—Social Security Board charges Governor Davey with asking votes from aged Ohio pensioners.

THE TERRITORIES

JULY 25—Assassin's fifteen bullets miss Governor Winship of Puerto Rico. Two persons in a crowd of 40,000 slain.

MEDICINE

JULY 18—National public health plan, costing \$850,000,000 yearly for ten years, is proposed at the National Health Conference. A. M. A. officer calls it "impractical."

JULY 31—Justice Department charges District of Columbia medical organizations restricted group health association in capital.

LABOR

JULY 11—William Green says that the A. F. of L. obtained enactment of the Wagner Act, and demands that changes be made in it. He assails John L. Lewis.

JULY 22—Federal Court of Appeals upsets N. L. R. B. order against Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation.

AUG. 2—Federal court rules inter-union fight is not a "labor dispute" involving an employer.

AUG. 7—Four unions quit C. I. O. council of Harry Bridges, charging that it is under Communist control.

Maytag Strike

JULY 9—C. I. O. leader is arrested in Iowa for "criminal syndicalism" in Maytag strike.

JULY 30—Governor Kraschel of Iowa stops N. L. R. B. hearing as a "show," delaying settlement of dispute.

AUG. 2—N. L. R. B. hearings are resumed.

AUG. 4—Maytag plant is reopened under military guard, as ordered by governor, after union accepts pay cut but bars contract.

Harlan Trial

JULY 31—Bribery to testify for the defense in Harlan mine labor trial is confessed by some witnesses.

JULY 30—Harlan jury reports deadlock seven hours after getting case.

AUG. 1—Harlan case ends in mistrial as jury, deadlocked 7 to 5 for acquittal, is dismissed.

U. A. W. A. "Purge"

JULY 11—Suspended officers of United Auto Workers of America, foes of Martin, ask Lewis for a special convention.

JULY 15—Purge of "communistic elements" in union is extended to North Tarrytown, N. Y.

JULY 25—Martin supporters and foes engage in a bloody fray during the first day of the union trial at Detroit.

JULY 29—Union "trial" is suddenly adjourned as Martin seeks to avoid "Moscow" propaganda.

AUG. 6—International Auto Union Board in Detroit expels three vice presidents who defied Martin.

LaFollette Committee

JULY 20—LaFollette committee reveals that Republic Steel attempted to influence Alabama newspapers' editorial stand on labor problems.

BUSINESS

- JULY 18—Jesse Jones, RFC chairman, appeals to banks to expand lending warning that the government may do so.
- JULY 20—Eight moving picture companies, 25 affiliates and 132 officers are accused by Department of Justice under anti-trust laws.

LAW

- JULY 27—JULY 29—American Bar Association in annual convention in Cleveland, authorizes creation of civil liberties committee of nine to protect "rich and poor alike."

AVIATION

- JULY 14—Howard Hughes reaches New York, making 'round-the-world flight in record time of 3 days, 19 hours.
- JULY 18—Douglas Corrigan reaches Dublin from New York in a "crate." He says he lost his bearings.
- JULY 21—Mercury pick-a-back plane, reaches New York after 25-hour flight from Ireland.
- JULY 24—Forty-two persons killed and 150 hurt when plane falls in a crowd in Colombia.
- JULY 29—Hawaii clipper is missing with 15 persons on flight from Guam to Manila.

FOREIGN**INTERNATIONAL**

- JULY 14—Japan withdraws her invitation for 1940 Olympic Games.
- JULY 19—Finland accepts invitation to hold the games in Helsingfors.
- British king and queen are acclaimed in Paris. Anglo-French ties are reaffirmed at a state dinner.

Evian Conference

- JULY 6—Delegates from 32 nations gather at Evian, France, to devise aid for refugees.
- JULY 7—Myron C. Taylor, an American, is elected permanent president.
- JULY 14—Resolution adopted creating refugee committee as permanent group.

Czechoslovak Situation

- JULY 12—Premier Daladier repeats France's pledge to Czechoslovakia as a fresh German coup is rumored.
- JULY 19—Hitler sends Britain a message voicing a desire for a peaceful solution of the Sudeten problem.
- JULY 22—Britain and France reject Hitler's proposal that they, Germany and Czechoslovakia arbitrate the Czech issue.
- JULY 25—Viscount Runciman named by Great Britain to be mediator in German-Czech controversy.
- JULY 26—Czechoslovakia discloses drafts of nationalities and language measures to appease conflicts.
- JULY 29—Henlein pledges the Sudeten Germans' loyalty to Hitler at Breslau gymnastic fete.

Russo-Japanese Tension

- JULY 21—Japanese threat to oust Russian "invaders" from Manchukuo is defied by the Soviet Foreign Commissar.

JULY 22—Japan orders press to minimize the Russian "invasion."

JULY 29—Russians report repulsing Japanese invasion of hill in disputed frontier area.

JULY 30—Japanese report routing of Soviet forces in "terrible fight."

AUG. 2—Soviet hurls six divisions and 30 tanks into battle.

AUG. 7—Soviet army declares that Japanese have been driven from Siberia. Japs admit reverse.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

JULY 9—Japs raid new Yangtze war zone from which they warned foreign warships to flee.

JULY 11—Chinese dynamite and burn building at Kiukiang, Yangtze port, as Japanese advance slowly.

JULY 12—Japanese planes raid Wuchang, near the capital. Five hundred are dead or wounded. American missions are hit.

AUG. 2—Japanese report cutting off Yangtze dikes by Chinese in an effort to check the drive on Hankow.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

JULY 8—Rebels take Nules, ten miles from Sagunto.

JULY 16—Rebels capture Mora de Rubielos, a town defending a Loyalist pocket east of Teruel.

JULY 17—Second anniversary of war finds the Rebels pushing along the road to Valencia.

JULY 26—Loyalists capture ten towns and 3,000 Rebel prisoners in new offensive in Catalonia.

AUG. 1—Loyalist guns dominate Teruel as a surprise thrust nets a hill 13 miles south.

AUG. 7—Rebels, launching counter-drive in Ebro sector, report trapping or "destroying" 12,000 Loyalists.

AUG. 8—Rebel army calls up 1920 class.

BOLIVIA and PARAGUAY

JULY 21—Bolivia and Paraguay sign Chaco peace treaty at Buenos Aires. The border is to be arbitrated.

FRANCE

JULY 10—Reconstructed Rheims Cathedral is rededicated at a service attended by the president and other officials.

GERMANY

JULY 13—Vatican newspaper assails new German divorce law, saying it "wounds every good Catholic."

JULY 16—Government takes 2,500 acres of French owned farm land within German borders for its fortifications on the Rhine.

JULY 18—German stocks fall in worst collapse since Hitler's advent.

JULY 19—Official action strengthens the Reich Boerse.

JULY 30—Germany shuts off Rhine fort zones as forbidden territory as defenses jut above the ground.

GREAT BRITAIN

JULY 11—Great Britain turns Spike Island over to Ireland in ceremony marked by friendly feeling.

JULY 13—£22,900,000 is added to British air budgets for the year.

JULY 26—Chamberlain tells Commons that the European situation is eased. He voices hope of a Sudeten accord.

JULY 28—Britain extends democracy in army through sweeping reforms for officerships.

GREECE

JULY 29—Anti-Fascist revolt is smashed quickly after insurgents seize government buildings in Crete capital.

JULY 20—Metaxas named Premier of Greece "for life."

AUG. 1—Charles E. Bedaux to reorganize economy of Greece. Stresses nation "marches as one man."

HUNGARY

JULY 26—Hungary buys all of Austria's army equipment. Budapest is expected to pay with foodstuffs.

ITALY

JULY 14—Report of a group of professors declare Italians "Aryan." A policy of "racial purity" is urged.

JULY 29—Pope warns Italy not to strike the Catholic Church in its racist campaign.

MEXICO

JULY 11—Five American-owned mines are taken over for operation by unions.

JULY 16—President Cardenas gives unions control of oil fields.

AUG. 4—Mexico seizes 1,800 acres of pasture land owned by U. S. citizen after reply to Secretary Hull's note.

PALESTINE

JULY 9—Britain sends armored car units from Cairo as violence between Arabs and Jews grips country.

JULY 10—Bombings renewed. Four outbreaks in Haifa, three in Jerusalem.

JULY 11—Cairo Moslems plan a conference to aid Arabs.

JULY 15—Ten Arabs are slain in Jerusalem in bombing. Two Jewish girls arrested.

JULY 16—American-Jewish settlers appeal to United States to get better protection for them.

JULY 25—Bomb explosion in Haifa market kills 46 persons. Arabs and Jews accuse each other.

RUMANIA

JULY 18—Dowager Queen Marie dies of a rare liver ailment at age of 62.

RUSSIA

JULY 11—Large grain crop appears likely as combines harvest 47 per cent of the total yield.

JULY 28—"Great purge" under way in the Soviet Far East on Stalin's order to oust spies, it is revealed.

TURKEY

JULY 20—Turkey reveals itself as an ally of Britain. Foreign Minister discloses plan for line-up in case of war. Friendship enhanced by £16,000,000 export credit loan by the British treasury.

Travel

"SEE America First," is not a slogan to be ignored. Each year it gains in validity. Communities, at one time ignorant of the value of the tourist dollar, are beginning to make themselves increasingly attractive to the visitor. The Klondike is a prime example. Although the gold rush days are gone forever, Alaska is nevertheless experiencing a new boom—this time a tourist boom.

"Its glaciers, its fjords, its mountains and its remnants of a fascinating Indian civilization," states Douglas Malcolm of the American Express Travel Service, "are today putting Alaska on the travelers' map, just as its fabulous mines once put it on the map of every adventurer."

And it is high time the traveler who has stared at ancient European ruins visit Alaska and stare at some of the Indian totem poles. They are more exotic than even a Roman ruin. In fact they represent the Indian book of heraldry. Weirdly carved with animals and birds, they were erected before the owner's door so that the passerby might know at a glance the pedigree of those who lived within. Usually made of wood, totems were also carved of marble and sometimes used as designs for baskets, moccasins or wood carvings. The salmon-canning center of Ketchikan has two famous totem poles, that of Chief Johnson and that of Chief Kyan. The latter has at its top a crane—the symbol of the chief's mother; in its center a thunderbird, and below that a bear—the emblem of the father.

Chief Johnson's totem pole is distinguished for its height; totem poles, as a matter of fact, were sometimes as high as four stories and so elaborately carved that they were valued at thousands of dollars. The totem pole standing before Chief Johnson's house is surmounted by a *kajuk*—legendary bird of the Indians. Then for the topmost third of its length it is uncarved, the family emblems coming toward the bottom. Miniatures of this pole and of other famous ones can be bought throughout Alaska.

Skagway, the Alaskan town that was the headquarters of the notorious Soapy Smith in the wide open days of the gold rush of the 'nineties, is play-

ing host this summer to hundreds of tourists who have ventured off the beaten paths of travel.

In the days when Skagway boasted of sixty saloons, each with its own dance hall, Soapy Smith led a short but exciting career as chief of a gang of desperadoes. Soapy began his climb to notoriety by selling soap in wrappers that appeared to be ten and twenty-dollar bills. Once he helped a minister raise money for church work, only to have him robbed when enough money had been collected to make the effort of banditry worth while. In true bad-man fashion, Soapy died while still young, a bullet through his heart.

When the Klondike gold hoard petered out, Skagway, city of 15,000 miners, hotel men, merchants and adventurers, dwindled to its present-day population of a few hundred. Today it serves as a gateway to the beautiful virgin countryside that lies up the Yukon valley. Yet travelers passing through it find it an intriguing place, for the spirit of the lusty boom days when Soapy Smith and his men carried on so high-handedly still haunts its streets.

THE Caribbean has always been popular, and with the inauguration of a new South American service its popularity will be greatly enhanced. It is within range of the short vacationist and is free from the general unrest which characterizes many of the long-favored tourist fields. In addition, the islands are offering improved facilities for entertaining guests—new hotels and clubs, new and improved highways, better equipment for sightseeing.

Increasing numbers of Americans are discovering the possibilities of Puerto Rico as a winter resort and as an interesting place for a summer stop-over. It has an exhilarating climate and marvelous scenery including tracts of jungle preserved as they were when Columbus and his men dropped anchor there. San Juan, the capital, presents the massive walls and fortifications which characterized all key ports in the days of the Conquest, as well as modern hotels. It is an up-to-date city and, with all its aura of historical charm, offers the tourist sophisticated diversions.

Venezuela, farther south, stretches

two thousand miles along the northern coast of South America and boasts some of the highest peaks of the Andes, as well as a newly-discovered waterfall, the highest in the world, with a drop of some six thousand feet. Venezuela is a rich country, growing richer every day. The recently opened oil-fields of the Maracaibo District are proving more abundant than their predecessors. Oil royalties have enabled Venezuela to carry out an extensive program of city improvement and highway building. The National Highway with branches to La Guaira and Puerto Cabello joins the Colombian highway and will form part of the great Pan-American highway connecting Washington, D. C., with Buenos Aires.

A bit of Holland in the Caribbean is found at Curacao in the Netherlands West Indies. The capital, Willemstadt, possesses canals and pontoon bridges, windmills and gabled residences. Tourists who have visited there will remember it as a free port, and a shopper's paradise. Merchandise from all over the world is offered at bargain prices—perfume, lingerie, delftware, oriental jewelry and carved ivory, and of course, the famous Curacao liqueur.

The North American who ventures into Latin America these days discovers that influences from his home land have greatly altered the pace of life among his neighbors to the south. Instead of a languid *manana* land where amorous caballeros play guitars beneath the balconies of lovely *senoritas*, he finds bustling progressive countries where the radio has replaced the guitar, a second-hand car is more common than a steed, and a theater showing American-made films is more often the scene for courtship than the balcony window.

Although a great deal of the romance of the Latin America of old may have perished with the coming of these influences from the north, the changes have not been without their compensations for the traveler. Today motor buses and cars speed along fine new roads into parts of the continent which were formerly inaccessible, and in consequence the North American finds his trip to South America every bit as interesting and comfortable as a jaunt to Europe.

For the city dweller who is anxious to escape from the sweltering heat of late summer and early fall, Mexico City is an ideal refuge. Perched high in the beautiful valley of Mexico, the ancient home of the Aztecs enjoys during the summer months the temperature of a perpetual spring. Visitors from the United States will find themselves most comfortable during the daylight hours of a Mexican summer if they take along clothing of slightly heavier weight than they would wear at home during that time of the year. In the evening hours the temperatures are low enough to make a topcoat most welcome. And yes—the American visitor will be glad to snuggle under a pair of blankets at night.

Of all of Mexico City's picturesque streets the American visitor will probably find the Avenida de Francisco I. Madero his favorite. This noble boulevard is the Mexican capital's "Main Street." From morning to evening it is the scene of colorful and constantly changing activity. In the forenoon and early evening it is crowded with attractive women, business men, priests, and occasionally even bull-fighters who chat and loiter while street merchants wend their way through the throngs. In the late afternoon, the hour of the promenade, activity along the boulevard attains an even faster pace. There are greater crowds, more laughter and talk, more compliments and polite gesticulations. Women in beautiful mantillas appear on the balconies, and flower vendors roam the streets.

But as far as night life is concerned, the Mexican capital is just a country town. After he has spent the short evening in pleasant conversation at the cafes along the avenue, the native starts for home about nine o'clock. By ten the whole city is asleep.

FEW visitors to Dublin during the summer months can resist the blandishments of the Irish jarveys, those picturesque cabbies who cluster about the bus and railroad stations looking for passengers for their jaunting cars. These conveyances, built like ordinary traps but with seats facing sideways rather than forward so that the occupant has an unrestricted view from all sides, are an ideal means for the visitor to see the sights of Dublin.

In addition to acting as driver, the jarvey assumes the role of personal guide for his passengers. With that grandiloquent exaggeration the Irish

describe as "blarney," the jarvey expansively discourses on the beauty of the Dublin buildings as the jaunting car leisurely rolls by them—Dublin Castle, for centuries the official residence of the English viceroy; City Hall, with its dome resting on a cylindrical lantern; and Leinster House, assembly place of the Irish Free State Parliament, after which the White House at Washington was modelled. The chances are, however, that the American visitor will find the broguish "blarney" of the jarvey driver every bit as fascinating as the sights he points out.

THE Flea Market, that quaintly named shopping spot at the Porte de Clignacourt in Paris, has always been a favorite objective for visitors as well as residents of the French capital, for here practically everything under the sun is on sale. Second-hand hairpins, rusty nails, household furniture, antiques and papers—all are on sale as a matter of course. In years past the shrewd traveler could occasionally pick up a valuable collector's item from among the vast assortment of junk on display. Those days are, unhappily, gone forever. The dealers

who hold forth at the Flea Market are on the alert for such treasures themselves, and rarely miscalculate the value of their wares.

The Flea Market has an iron rule about what is good form for buyers: they must offer a third of the price which the dealer is asking for his item, and compromise by paying him about one-half for it.

WHAT is probably the oldest wine in the world is contained in 292 bottles which now repose in the ancient cellars of Fukier's Inn in Warsaw. Visitors to the Polish capital are welcome to inspect the dust-covered bottles, but they may not sip their rare contents. For the past 332 years the precious liquid has been waiting to be drunk on the occasion of the coronation of a king of Poland or a king of Hungary. In view of the present political situation in Europe, it seems likely that the bottles may collect dust for centuries more before their contents are tasted.

Fukier's wine cellar, in which the rare wine is kept, has long been a mecca for gourmets from all over the world. The present proprietors of the cellar are lineal descendants of the famous Fugger family, wealthy mer-

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chant princes and bankers in the day of the Hanseatic League.

Today visitors to Fukier's may sit at the long wooden tables, beneath the arched ceilings of the old wine room, and drink of almost any foreign or domestic wine they can name. The specialties of the shop are Polish mead and Hungarian tokay; the latter is well-described by the proverb "born in Hungary and educated in Poland." The rarest and oldest wines sold at Fukier's cost about \$80 a bottle, but for the visitor of more moderate means worthy wines selling as low as one dollar a bottle are available.

CONNOISSEURS of Japanese art should look forward to the Golden Gate International Exposition to be held in San Francisco next year, for the greatest assemblage of Japanese art ever brought together will be on exhibit there. The vast collection will include the finest examples from prehistoric times to the present, showing 2,000 years of uninterrupted art history, with masterpieces from every period.

Most of the material has never been seen outside of Japan, and the majority of it has never been viewed by an Occidental. The exhibits are to be drawn from both government and privately owned collections. As all the material is considered Japanese "national treasure," the consent of the Imperial government had to be obtained to bring it to this country.

THE proper procedure for bringing some particular vacationland to the attention of the traveler usually involves

staging a musical festival, or sending out dozens of news releases studded with bathing girls. However, Las Vegas, Nevada, in calling attention to the possibilities of Lake Mead, the artificial inland sea forming above Boulder Dam, struck an original note in presenting to the public Jack Burdud, Pacific Coast Aquaplane Champion of 1935. He captured the double distinction of being the first to ride an aquaplane in the Grand Canyon, and of hanging up a new aquaplane endurance record. In attempting to traverse the 105 miles from within the Grand Canyon to Boulder Dam, Burdud made 81 miles in 3 hours and 18 minutes. Coated with black grease, he rode behind a speedboat as far as Virgin Basin on Lake Mead where darkness prevented his continuing.

The World Today in Books

(Continued from page 5)

book, *My America*. It is a long work and some critics have called it an encyclopedia, comparing it with the *Britannica* and the *National* and saying that it is not as exhaustive as the old standbys perhaps but has enough compensating features and is well-adapted, besides, to ready-reference. Some have said that Adamic bundled together in this book as much manuscript as his car could carry to the publisher in a single trip. But not all the kidding has been good-natured. For Louis Adamic has not only written a long book but an honest one.

Louis Adamic's *My America* runs to something over 300,000 words, or about four times as long as the aver-

Questions and Answers

Questions on Page 51

1. Wilbert Lee O'Daniel is the "hillbilly" candidate who recently won the Democratic nomination for governor of Texas.
2. President Roosevelt predicted a deficit of nearly \$4,000,000,000 for the United States Government in 1939.
3. Governor Blanton Winship of Puerto Rico was recently fired upon by a native nationalist.
4. No; the Mexican government declined Secretary Hull's proposal to arbitrate the seizure of American-owned lands.
5. The Revolution; the War of 1812; the War with Mexico; the War with Spain, and the World War.
6. The Republic of Texas was annexed to the United States in 1845.
7. Czechoslovakia is a republic.
8. Yugoslavia is a kingdom.
9. Peter II is king of Yugoslavia.
10. Rumania produces oil in large quantities.
11. Rumania produces about 50 per cent more oil than Mexico.
12. The United States produces nearly two-thirds of the world's oil.
13. William P. Knudsen is President of General Motors Corporation.
14. "Bolero," by Ravel, was inspired by the noise of manufacturing.
15. The Republic of Haiti and the Dominican Republic occupy the island of Haiti.
16. French is the official language of Haiti.
17. The other three West Indian islands are: Cuba, Jamaica and Puerto Rico.
18. Algiers, Tunis and the larger part of Morocco are French colonies, but Tripoli is an Italian colony.
19. The name "Morocco" is associated with leather.
20. Yes; the Republic of Liberia, in Africa, enjoys complete independence.

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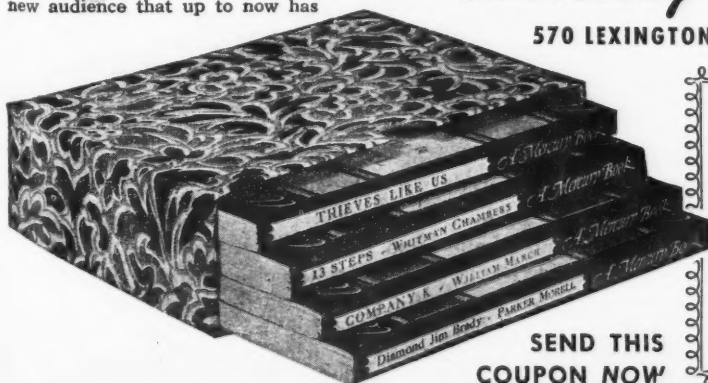
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age book. It is not a question of whether the work is "too long" or "sprawling" but whether everything it says is worth reading. This department takes a strong stand in the affirmative. A writer with Adamic's talent for words and his perception can never write a book long enough. It is true that the chapters bear little relation to one another, that not even a bare thread of continuity is maintained, yet this was never the pretense or aim of the author. Pearls do not lose their value simply because they are unstrung.

My America is a collection of rich, meaty observations and stories; and there is not a dull paragraph in the book. There are extracts from his diary, letters to and from his friends, sketches of people in all walks of life, stories of his travels, impressions of trends in a wide number of fields from literature to labor. It all adds up to a book that is a mine of rich, meaningful reading.

Puppy Love

Granville Hicks has given an adroit and remarkable performance in *I Like America*. He has shown that he can divorce himself completely from his usual style, and adjust his writing in line with a given purpose. That purpose is to persuade people that America will be a much better America under Communistic socialization. From the studied simplicity of the language used here, it might appear as though Hicks were addressing himself to an audience not far removed from the early reading primers. For there is an unmistakable once-upon-a-time swing to his story. Simplicity in its pure form is a highly-developed science, but it loses its value when it is overdone or has an unnatural flavor.

Hicks is best in his criticism of America. He visits small mining towns, looks with horror upon the squalor and filth of living conditions as bad as that suffered by any peasant class in Europe. He is appalled by the slums, by starvation wages, intolerable hours, and intolerable working conditions. He hates violations of civil liberties, of academic freedom, of freedom of the press.

Hicks has correctly located and spotlighted the sore spots of our America. But—

It is one thing to diagnose an ailment; another to prescribe a cure. Hicks believes the cure to be large doses of Communism, and he is en-

titled to that belief; but it does not necessarily follow that he is right. His faculties are much keener as a critic than as a social theorist.

Granville Hicks has called his book *I Like America*, but that is not exactly what he means. He likes America because of what he considers its possibilities and potentialities under the form of government which he as a Communist would favor.

Important History

Iraq, because of complex strategies of commerce and militarism, becomes more important today than ever before. A small, independent state with, Heaven knows, its full quota of private troubles, Iraq is, in addition, Britain's plug to that dangerous avenue from Eastern Europe to India, the Persian Gulf. The extension of trade and the necessity for self-preservation are the beginning and the end of national effort toward territorial extension. There is no philanthropy, Lord Curzon to the contrary notwithstanding, in the tremendous tasks of penetration, organization, and administration of a new country.

Much of the full meaning and extent of such labors appear in *Iraq: A Study in Political Development*, a thorough and scholarly work. Dr. Philip Willard Ireland's intimate knowledge of the country, its people and history, is apparent throughout the book. Although the author is something of an Anglophile, his analytical honesty has not failed him. The history of Great Britain in Iraq is the history of Great Britain in India, in Africa, in Canada. Hardly less is it the history of Italy in Ethiopia or of Japan in China. Little as there may be of relation of method, the ultimate ends remain identical.

During three centuries of trade in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys and the Persian Gulf, England fought against the powerful competition of Portuguese and Dutch, and gained mastery of the Middle Eastern situation only in the third quarter of the 18th Century. She has held this supremacy down to the present time, despite the sharp recent rivalry of Germans and Japanese.

H. B. M. Government organized Iraq into a British Mandate during and following the war years, and shepherded the infant state through its infancy. Today, Iraq rules itself, apparently free of British influence; but there remains a long-term treaty which

provides every military assistance between the signatories. Subsidiary documents guarantee the British "immunities and privileges in jurisdictional and fiscal matters; the British forces in Iraq enjoy immunity from taxation;" H. B. M. is "assured precedence over representatives of other powers" at the court of King of Iraq; British subjects are to be engaged for posts requiring foreign officials; the judicial agreement "abolished the special judicial regime established in favor of certain foreigners, but guaranteed the appointment of British legal experts in important specified posts."

Of course, the Iraqi had ideas of their own which were duly presented to H. B. M. Government. A roar of protest went up throughout the nation when these ideas were tabled; and Great Britain's treaty is the one in existence today. There seems little doubt that England, in relinquishing the reins of government to the Iraqi, has in reality come out ahead. England usually does.

Southern Struggle

The struggle for independence in Spanish America had its beginning with the opening of the wars in 1810. Fourteen years later, out of blood and death and political chicanery was born Republican Hispanic America. Professor Chapman's *Republican Hispanic America*, the companion volume to *Colonial Hispanic America*, is a notable undertaking in historical exposition. The first half of the book treats the whole theme of the new independence in sweeping strokes, from the start of the wars to the present day. The single volume provides a clarifying general treatment of a century of flux and growth, and a necessary detailed chronology of events in the several states.

A digest of opinion in the Hispanic countries seems to lead toward a certain insularity, or self-sufficiency of the Western Hemisphere. The future may well bring a stronger spirit of cooperation among the western nations. Meanwhile, America can with advantage study and know our neighbors as they study and know us. Few of us can hope to achieve the intimate personal feeling for them which is Professor Chapman's, but we can and should lift this dark guilt of self-satisfaction under which we have so long contentedly nestled, and make ourselves realize that our southern neighbors are important people.